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The Thirty-nine Articles

B. J. KIDD

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The Thirty-nine Articles

THEIR HISTORY AND EXPLANATION

BY

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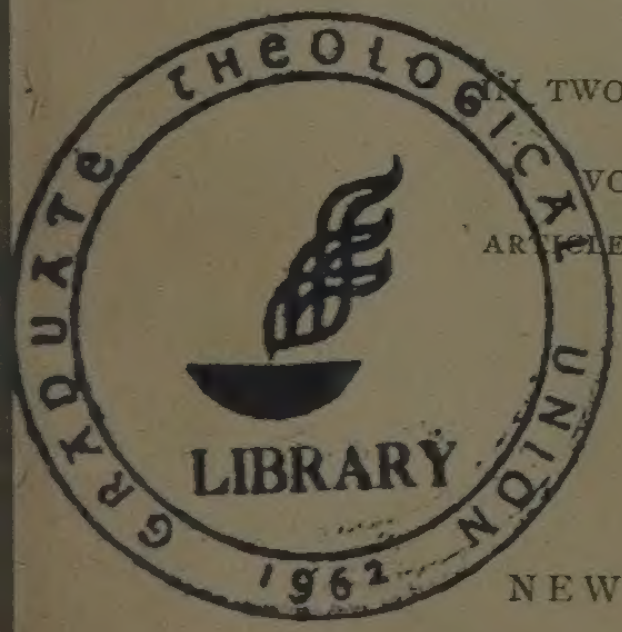

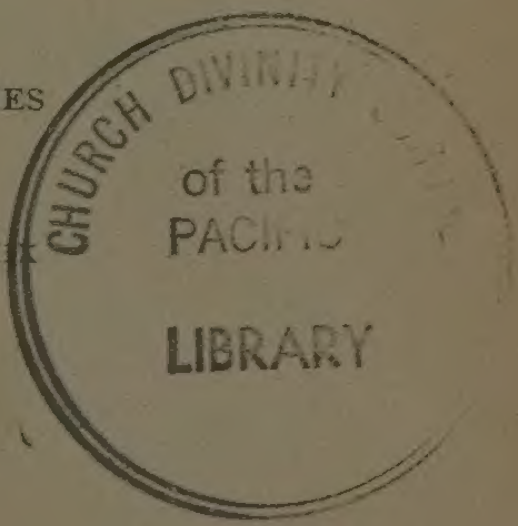

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II

ARTICLES IX-XXXIX

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The author wishes to express his obligations to the works of Archdeacon Hardwick, Dr. Maclear, and Dr. Gibson, on the Articles, obligations which it is impossible, in so short a compass, to acknowledge in detail.

4520

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PART II.—EXPLANATION

NOTE

(1) Formulae composed in 1552-3 are printed in ordinary type: formulae, or parts thereof, common to the formularies of 1563, 1553, 1538, and 1530 in *italics*; additions of 1563, if from the Confession of Würtemberg, in **thick type**, between †† if from elsewhere; or, if then composed, between ‡‡.

(2) **The student is particularly advised to read the explanation of the Articles with a revised version of the Bible at his side, and to look out the references.** It has been found impossible to give them in full; and the explanation will not be intelligible without study of the Scripture where referred to. It is however hoped that the explanation will suffice to make the passages of Scripture clear, so far as they bear upon the matter in hand.

(3) The text of the Articles here explained is that of the last revision in 1571. The Latin Articles of 1553 and 1563 will be found in the Appendix.

THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES

Group B. Articles dealing with **Personal Religion,** or **Man and his Salvation (Arts. 9-18).**—They fall into two sections, such as concern :—

(i) *Justification*—The subject brought into prominence by **Luther** (Arts. 9-16). Thus, after stating the nature of Original Sin (9), and its effect on the will, or the need of Grace (10), the formulary treats of the ground of Justification (11), and the true value of Good Works, whether following (12) or preceding (13) it. Works of Supererogation are repudiated (14) as impossible, for Christ alone is without sin (15), and men sin after Baptism (16).

(ii) *Predestination or Election*—The subject brought into prominence by **Calvin** (Arts. 17, 18). Predestination to life is God's purpose for men (17), but He wills to effect it only by the name of Christ (18).

ARTICLE IX

De Peccato Originali.

(§ 1) Peccatum originis non est (ut fabulantur Pelagiani) in imitatione Adami situm, sed est *vitium* et depravatio naturae cujuslibet hominis ex Adamo naturaliter *propagati*, qua fit ut ab originali justitia quam longissime distet, ad malum sua natura propendeat, et caro semper adversus spiritum concupiscat; unde in unoquoque nascentium iram Dei atque damnationem meretur. (§ 2) Manet etiam in renatis haec naturae depravatio, qua fit ut affectus carnis, Graece *φρόνημα σαρκός* (quod alii sapientiam,

Of Original or Birth Sin.

(§ 1) Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam (as the Pelagians do vainly talk), but it is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit; and therefore in every person born into this world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation. (§ 2) And this infection of nature doth remain, yea, in them

alii sensum, alii affectum, alii studium carnis interpretantur), legi Dei non subjiciatur. Et quanquam renatis et credentibus, nulla propter Christum est condemnatio, (§ 3) peccati tamen in sese rationem habere concupiscentiam fatetur Apostolus.

that are regenerated, whereby the lust of the flesh, called in Greek *φρόνημα σαρκός* (which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh), is not subject to the law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, (§ 3) yet the Apostle doth confess that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.

(i) **Source.**—Composed by the English Reformers, 1552-3, with slight verbal reminiscences of previous formularies. Thus *originalis justitia* is borrowed from No. 2 of the XIII. Articles, though it does not occur in the Confession of Augsburg. The Pelagians, however, and that which they denied (the *vitium* characteristic of every one *secundum naturam propagati*), are mentioned for condemnation in all three. But our Article shows marked independence both in its general wording and in its rejection of the statement, common to both the preceding series, that concupiscence is 'vere peccatum.'

(ii) **Object.**—To exclude Pelagianism, 'which, also,' as the Article itself said in 1553, 'the Anabaptists do nowadays renew.' Similar testimony to their revival of the old error is borne by the *Reformatio Legum*.

(iii) **Explanation.**—§ 1 deals with **Original sin.** (1) The phrase itself is not scriptural, and is due to S. Augustine, who made the expression 'Peccatum originale' (*cf.* title), or 'Peccatum originis' (*cf.* text), current coin in Western theology. In its English dress, *Original sin* is open to misconception, as if it referred to sin done originally in some former state of existence. But 'origo' means 'birth,' and 'peccatum,' here, 'sinfulness' rather than 'sin'; and 'peccatum originale' is best represented, as in the title, by *Birth Sin*, though even that expression does not quite convey the notion of 'a sinful tendency accompanying the very origin of our human existence,'[1] which is the meaning of the Latin phrase, as employed

[1] Bright, *Waymarks in Church History*, p. 190.

by S. Augustine. This meaning it acquired in the Pelagian controversy of the early fifth century; and (2) the Article proceeds to condemn the Pelagian heresy by way of shewing *what Original sin is not.* It **standeth not in the following of Adam, as the Pelagians do vainly talk.** This expression is much clearer in the Latin, which, in modern English, would be rendered, 'does not consist in imitating Adam.'[1] Pelagius (?370-?440) was a monk of British extraction who went to Rome, and was looked up to in his day as both devout and learned. Roused to indignation by the moral slackness of easy-going Christians, he preached exertion to the indolent, and told them that they could do better if they would. He was shocked at hearing of Augustine's prayer, 'Give me the power to do what Thou commandest, and then command what Thou wilt.' 'Give the power?' he would say; 'why, you *have* the power.' With excellent motives, he was thus led to his first heretical proposition; for, over-confident in the unaided efficacy of the human will, he proceeded (*a*) to a *denial of the necessity of supernatural and directly assisting grace*—'grace' being here taken in the then, as now, received sense, in which it is 'merely a convenient theological expression for the personal action of the Divine Paraclete,'[2] or 'the power that worketh in us' (Eph. iii. 20). But then followed a second proposition. The denial of the need of real grace was justified by (*b*) *a denial of the reality of Original sin*: for Pelagius would not admit the presence of that sinful tendency which accompanies us from our birth. When confronted with the fact of universal depravity, rather than account for it thus, all he would say was that it followed from the universal imitation of Adam's example. The Article characterises this as 'vain talk': for a universal effect must have a common cause. Moreover, 'death,' the penalty of sin, 'reigned from Adam until Moses, even over them that had not sinned after

[1] For 'standeth'='consisteth'; *cf.* second collect at Mattins, 'in knowledge of whom standeth our eternal life' (*Quem nosse vivere*).

[2] Bright, *Lessons from the Lives of Three Great Fathers*, p. 162, n. 3.

the likeness of Adam's transgression' (Rom. v. 14). This points to a congenital sinfulness, or an inherited tendency to sin; and supports the next statement of this section, upon (3) *what Original sin is.* It is **the fault and corruption of the nature of every man.** (*a*) In *extent* it is described as universal, reaching to every man **that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam,** our Lord, of course, excluded, for He was supernaturally engendered (Matt. i. 18, 20, 23). (*b*) In *effect* it is (*a*) *privative,* for it is that **whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness;** (*β*) *positive,* for, in consequence of it, he **is of his own nature inclined to evil;** and (*γ*) *punitive,* for **the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit, and therefore in every person born into this world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation.**

Now the meaning of this definition depends upon close attention both to what it asserts and to what it refrains from asserting. Man, as he left the Creator's hands, was formed in *original righteousness.* By this, it is not meant that he was either morally or intellectually a perfect being. Before he sinned (Gen. ii. 25), as after (iii. 7 and 21), his knowledge of the arts of civilisation was elementary. They are represented as an aftergrowth (iv. 20-22). His knowledge of moral distinctions was equally rudimentary (ii. 17, 25; iii. 5). He was, in fact, in a state of childlike innocence, not created perfect, but on the way to become so; and so was in this sense 'very good,' as 'made in the image of God' (i. 27, 31), and capable of enjoying communion with Him (iii. 8). Thus he could not have had concupiscence or lust, but he had a power of choice: otherwise the temptation (iii. 1) would have been an impossibility. Yet it was resisted (iii. 2-5): and divines have therefore held that our first parents' freedom to choose was not wholly unconditioned, but aided by a bias toward good. This state of man before the Fall they call *original righteousness*: but while some have looked upon it as a supernatural condition, others have regarded it as a natural one. What happened then at the Fall? On the first view, man lost the supernatural gift, and descended to the natural level. The Fall was a loss, and left man by

nature good but weak. On the second, he fell below the natural level, and was left by nature inclined to evil, more than weak, but not wholly bad. The Fall was a *privatio* but a *depravatio* too. Thus physical corruption or death, which in itself is a purely natural phenomenon, re-asserted its sway over his body: and was now further associated with sin as its penalty (Rom. v. 12, 21). But moral corruption also laid hold of his spiritual being: so that he was not only *deprived* of his bias toward good but *depraved* by a bias toward evil, not merely *very far gone from original righteousness* but *of his own nature inclined to evil.* In thus making the effect of the Fall positive as well as privative, the Article ranges itself with S. Augustine in opposition to the Greek and earlier Latin Fathers. They looked upon Original sin as involving the loss of the supernatural bias toward good and nothing more. So did the Scotists. But, in regarding it as a positive taint transmitted at birth from one generation to the next, the Western theology of S. Augustine and the Thomists is more in accordance both with experience and with Holy Scripture. Heredity is now an accepted scientific fact; and that direct bias towards evil, of which all men are conscious in themselves, demands no other explanation. The Scriptures, not content with insisting on the universality of sin (Gen. vi. 12; Mark x. 18), regard it as engrained 'within,' in the very hearts of men (Gen. vi. 5; viii. 21; Deut. x. 16; Jer. xvii. 9; Mark vii. 21-23; Rom. vii. 18; viii. 7). Our Lord even speaks of men as 'being evil' (Matt. vii. 11) and as 'lost' (Luke xix. 10), and 'He knew what was in man' (John ii. 24). But it is reserved for S. Paul to supply the key to such comprehensive language, by calling attention to the solidarity of the race in Adam, as alone accounting for this universal presence of sin and its penalty, death, by transmission from him (1 Cor. xv. 22; Rom. v. 12-21).

But the self-restraint of the Article is as remarkable as its assertions. On June 17, 1546, the Council of Trent had committed itself merely to the view that original sin is 'a loss of holiness and righteousness.'[1] It

[1] Sess. v. c. 2.

was but a *privatio naturae*. The Article goes further, and asserts that it is a *depravatio naturae*. But it stops short of saying that it is a *tota depravatio*, or that 'man is wholly deprived of original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined only to evil.'[1] Expressions such as this are characteristic of the Lutheran and Calvinist confessions, and are neither Scriptural nor true. If true, man would have been left by the Fall incapable of redemption: and in the Bible, not only are 'the lost' made the very subjects of redemption (Luke xix. 10; *cf.* Eph. ii. 1), but the possibility of this is hinted in the fact that even fallen man is still spoken of as retaining his likeness to the image of God (Gen. ix. 6; 1 Cor. xi. 7; Jas. iii. 9). Thus he 'knows how to give good gifts' to his children (Matt. vii. 11), and both the conscience (Rom. ii. 14, 15) of the heathen and the principles on which the judgment in store for them (Matt. xxv. 31-46; Rom. ii. 12, 16) will be conducted witness to the truth that the heart of man, even when as yet untouched by redemption, so far from being totally depraved is 'naturally Christian.'[2] A further limitation is acknowledged in the extent of the punishment due to Original sin. We 'were by nature children of wrath' (Eph. ii. 3), and so *it deserveth God's wrath and damnation*: but it is not said that it invariably meets with the treatment which, as a positive taint or disorder defacing God's handiwork, it deserves. For instance, the Church of England says, 'It is certain by God's word that children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved.'[3] She pointedly omits to add, as the Bishops' Book added, 'and else not.'

§ 2 describes *the effect of Baptism in the removal of Original sin*. Baptism is credited, as in the Catechism, with a double effect. **There is no condemnation to them that believe and are baptized** (Rom. viii. 1). It is a remission of sin. It is also a regeneration; for *renati* is translated first by *regenerated* and then by *baptized*.

[1] The Article as revised by the Westminster Assembly, 1643. *Cf.* vol. i. p. 61.

[2] Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. 17.

[3] Rubric at the end of the Baptismal Service.

Now deliverance from sin means rescue both from its guilt and power. That Baptism procures forgiveness and so removes guilt is clear from such passages as Acts ii. 38; xxii. 16, etc.: but the power of sin lies in the hold which it has on us through that **infection of nature**, or appetite for corrupt pleasure, against which Apostles had both to warn their converts (Gal. v. 16; Col. iii. 5; 1 Pet. ii. 11; 1 John i. 8) and struggle themselves (1 Cor. ix. 27; Rom. vii. 18, 19). Our personal experience is sufficient proof that it **doth remain, yea, in them that are regenerate**: and that the instincts and interests of our lower nature, which are what is meant by 'the mind of the flesh' (Rom. viii. 6, 7) are not eradicated by Baptism.

§ 3 addresses itself to the question, much debated at the time, whether this *concupiscence* is of itself sin. The Council of Trent had already decided that it 'is not called sin as being truly and properly sin in the regenerate, but because it is of sin and inclines to sin.'[1] The Lutheran and 'Reformed' bodies held, as in the Westminster Confession, that 'both itself and all the motions thereof are truly and properly sin.'[2] The Article is content to steer midway between these extremes. **The Apostle doth confess that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.** It recognises the dangerous tendency of concupiscence, but holds that 'lust' only 'when it hath conceived, beareth sin' (Jas. i. 15). Sin lies not in the motions of the flesh but in the consent given to them by the will. S. James, however, is not *the Apostle* but S. Paul: though it may be doubted what passages of S. Paul the author of the Article had in mind. Possibly Rom. vi. 12; vii. 8; Gal. v. 16-24, in all of which lust is spoken of as closely connected with sin.

[1] Sess. v. c. 5. [2] vi. 5.

ARTICLE X

De Libero Arbitrio.	Of Free Will.
(§ 1) Ea est hominis post lapsum Adae conditio, **ut sese, naturalibus suis viribus et bonis operibus, ad fidem et invocationem Dei convertere ac praeparare non possit.** (§ 2) Quare absque gratia Dei, quae per Christum est, nos praeveniente ut velimus, et cooperante dum volumus, ad pietatis opera facienda, quae Deo grata sint et accepta, nihil valemus.	(§ 1) The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God. (§ 2) Wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will.

(i) **Source.**—§ 1, in **thick type**, was introduced in 1563 from the Confession of Würtemberg, by way of preface to § 2, which stood as it is in 1553.

(ii) **Object.**—The structure of the Article resembles that of other Articles, in which the last is meant to be the emphatic clause, the object of the earlier clauses being merely to lead up to, and serve as a basis for, the cardinal statement in conclusion.[1] The Article would therefore have been better entitled,[2] 'Of the need of grace,' its object being to supplement the last by disavowing all sympathy with the Anabaptists who denied such need. Of Free Will itself nothing is directly said. What is denied is the power of man to turn to God and serve Him unaided. What is asserted is the need of grace, both preventing and co-operating.

(iii) **Explanation.**—§ 1 deals with *man's incapacity for good since the Fall*, which follows directly from the view

[1] *Cf.* Arts. 7, 11, 16, 20, 21, 31, 32, 36.
[2] For inexact titles, *cf.* Arts. 13, 31.

taken of Original sin in Art. 9. It is not only a *privatio* or loss of higher goodness, but a *depravatio naturae*, a real corruption of our nature. It follows that, if this be **the condition of man after the fall of Adam . . . that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works to faith and calling upon God.** His condition is one of slavery to sin (Rom. vii. 14; viii. 8).

§ 2 states that, in consequence, **to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God** we want **grace** both **preventing** and **working with us.** These expressions require notice. The clause in which they occur is quoted almost verbatim from S. Augustine,[1] whose controversy with Pelagius had reference to God's treatment not of those who lived and died without ever having heard the Gospel, but of Christians. Thus (*a*) *good works pleasant and acceptable to God* is a technical phrase for the works of Christians done in a Christian spirit and from Christian motives. In Art. 10 it is stated that they are impossible apart from Christ: in Art. 12 that 'they are the fruits of faith and follow after Justification': in Art. 13 that 'works done before the grace of Christ are not pleasant to God,' the reason being added that 'they spring not of faith.' Nothing is said as to the good works of the heathen, and the way in which God regards them. The question is not raised. (*b*) *Grace* is a word that has different senses in Biblical and Ecclesiastical usage. In Scripture, it is used as the equivalent of (*α*) 'attractiveness' (Luke iv. 22); (*β*) 'favour,' specially as shewn by a superior towards an inferior (Gen. vi. 8); then, with S. Paul in particular, it is used of (*γ*) 'God's unmerited favour,' specially in opposition to 'debt' (Rom. iv. 4) or 'works' implying merit (Rom. xi. 6). It is in this sense that the word takes a prominent place in the vocabulary of Justification (Eph. ii. 8, 9). Finally, the cause being put for the effect, 'grace' denotes (*δ*) the 'favour' in which the Christian stands (Rom. v. 2) or any particular gift which, by the divine favour, he enjoys (Acts vi. 8). But the New Testament stops short of the sense ascribed to 'grace' in ecclesiastical usage

[1] *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, § 33.

from the time of S. Augustine, according to which it means not simply kindly feeling on the part of God, but His actual help. Grace is power. That power whereby God works in nature is called force. That power whereby He works on the will of His reasonable creatures is called grace[1] in theology. It is freely recognised in the New Testament (Eph. iii. 20), but not under this name except in 1 Cor. xv. 10: and the key to the passage from the Biblical sense of 'grace' as 'favour' to the Ecclesiastical sense of 'grace' as 'help' lies in the fact that with God to favour is at once to bless. But the distinction is important, as will appear in Art. 11. (*c*) *Prevenient* and *co-operating* grace are again Augustinian terms. The first is needed to incline the will to choose the good (John vi. 44; Acts xvi. 14); the second to assist us in doing it (John xv. 4, 5; 1 Cor. xv. 10; Gal. ii. 20). In Phil. ii. 13 S. Paul insists that we need both the one and the other, and yet (ii. 12) that grace dispenses neither with human effort nor responsibility. The Collects of the Prayer Book,[2] many of which go back to the time when Pelagianism was still an enemy to be reckoned with, are the best summaries of the teaching of Scripture on the need both of prevenient and co-operating grace.

[1] *Cf.* Liddon, *University Sermons*, i. pp. 44, 66; ii. pp. 34, 188; *Advent Sermons*, i. p. 234; *Christmastide Sermons*, p. 217: and note 'full of grace and power,' Acts vi. 8.

[2] See 1st Sunday after Epiphany; Easter Day; 1st, 9th, 17th Sunday after Trinity; and 'Prevent (=start) us, O Lord,' etc.

ARTICLE XI

De Hominis Justificatione.

(§ 2) **Tantum propter meritum Domini ac Servatoris nostri Jesu Christi, per fidem, non propter opera et merita nostra,** (§ 1) **justi coram Deo reputamur.** (§ 3) Quare sola fide nos justificari, doctrina est saluberrima, ac consolationis plenissima; ut in Homilia de Justificatione hominis fusius explicatur.

Of the Justification of Man.

(§ 1) We are accounted righteous before God, (§ 2) only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. (§ 3) Wherefore that we are justified by faith only is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort; as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.

(i) **Source.** — The Article is an improved version of that on Justification in the series of 1553, prefixed in 1563 by the clause in **heavy type**, which is based upon the language of the Confession of Würtemberg.

(ii) **Object.** — It is directed against ideas of human merit, so long prevalent throughout the Western Church before the Reformation, and then shared by the Anabaptists. But while it so far sides with Luther on Justification, it carefully avoids the distinctively Lutheran phraseology: *e.g.* that a man is justified when he believes himself to be justified; or that his faith is the cause, rather than the condition, of his justification; or that Christ's righteousness is imputed to the sinner for his justification. Further, it silently corrects the Council of Trent, which, in its session of January 13, 1547, had decreed that 'justification is not merely the remission of sins, but also the sanctification and renewal of the inner man.'[1] The Article follows S. Paul in distinguishing between Justification and Sanctification.

[1] Sess. vi. c. 7.

(iii) **Explanation.** — § 1, opening with the statement that **We are accounted righteous**, raises two questions. There is (*a*) the *linguistic* question, What is the meaning of 'justify'? The Article uses the phrases *We are accounted righteous by faith* and *We are justified by faith* synonymously, thus clearly taking 'justify' to mean 'make out righteous' rather than 'make righteous.' In this it has the support of Scripture. The Greek word δικαιόω, by analogy with other words of the same form,[1] except such as are derived from adjectives having a physical meaning,[2] *e.g.* 'blind,' means invariably to 'account' or 'treat as righteous.' In the New Testament it occurs but eleven times outside the epistles of S. Paul. Thus the divine 'Wisdom is' said to be 'justified' *i.e.* vindicated or proved righteous, 'by her works' (Matt. xi. 19 = Luke vii. 35): and the word is used in the forensic sense of acquittal as opposed to condemnation before a judge (Matt. xii. 37). In S. Paul's epistles the word occurs twenty-seven times. In some cases it is unambiguous, and must mean 'treat as righteous,' *i.e.* 'acquit': in none can the meaning 'make righteous' be established for it. For, with S. Paul, as in the Gospels, the decisive passages are such as connect it with a verdict of acquittal in court, and speak of God as being pronounced righteous by the judgment of mankind (Rom. iii. 4); or of man as unable to 'condemn' His 'elect' where He 'justifieth' (Rom. viii. 33); or of the Apostle himself as not being acquitted even by the verdict of his own conscience, clear as it is, but only by the last Judgment of all (1 Cor. iv. 4). Thus on linguistic grounds of New Testament interpretation, the Article would be in the wrong if it took 'we are justified' to mean anything else but 'we are accounted righteous.' But this raises (*b*) the *theological* question, What is the relation, in time, of Justification to Sanctification? Is a man accounted righteous (justified) before he is made righteous (sanctified)? Considerations of an *à priori* kind appear to require that he should be

[1] *e.g.* ἀξιόω=deem worthy.
[2] *e.g.* τυφλόω=make blind.

made righteous first, for otherwise there would seem to be an element of unreality, and therefore of immorality, in God's dealings with mankind if He be represented as accounting the sinner righteous when as yet he is not really so. Such considerations, coupled with an imperfect knowledge of Greek, may have led Western theologians to take *Justificare* in the sense of 'make righteous,' and to hold that before God justifies a man He imparts to him an infused righteousness. Accordingly the Council of Trent made Justification to include Sanctification. But the facts of language do not permit of this, nor does New Testament usage. Further, in Rom. iv. 5 the person treated as righteous is assumed to be not actually righteous but 'ungodly.' We must therefore conclude (*a*) that S. Paul regards Justification simply as the bestowal of forgiveness for the past, and so separates it in thought from God's other gift of Sanctification or growth in grace afterwards. Both are connected with Baptism (1 Cor. vi. 11). But while Justification is no more than the initial act of the Christian life, when we are forgiven (*cf.* Rom. iii. 24, 25 with Eph. i. 7) and received into favour (Rom. v. 1, 2), Sanctification is its gradual perfecting (Rom. vi. 19, 22), and while the one represents the work of God the Son for us 'who redeemed me and all mankind' (Rom. iii. 22-26; Gal. ii. 16, 17), the other is the work of God the Holy Ghost within us, who 'sanctifieth me and all the elect people of God' (1 Thess. iv. 3, 8; 2 Thess. ii. 13; *cf.* 1 Pet. i. 2); (*β*) that thus Justification precedes Sanctification, and so God *justifies by anticipation*, treating the sinner as the Prodigal Son was treated by his father (Luke xv. 20-22), not by reference to what he is at the moment when he is received into favour, but to what he gives promise of becoming through his faith; but yet (*γ*) that Justification and Sanctification, distinguishable as they are in thought, are inseparable in actual life because of its organic unity. The former is the subject of Rom. i.-v., the latter of vi.-viii.; but they are one whole. 'Being now made free from sin'—that is Justification—'ye have your fruit unto Sanctification, and the end eternal life' (Rom. vi. 22). These are the

three stages in a Christian life, separable in thought, but continuous in reality—Justification, Sanctification, Salvation.

§ 2 proceeds to the ground of Justification. We are justified **only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our own works or deservings.** The meritorious cause, as the technical phrase goes, of our justification, that on account of (*propter*) which we are justified, is not faith, which is only the condition (*per*) of it, but the merits of Christ. The contrast here, as in the New Testament, is not between faith and works, but between our merits and Christ's (Rom. iv. 4, 5, 24, 25). The mediæval system encouraged men to think that they could earn forgiveness, and so resulted in a religious practice which had a very close resemblance to that legalism which S. Paul combated (Rom. iii. 20, 28; Gal. ii. 16). As against such notions, the Article re-affirms his doctrine that forgiveness is a free gift which we owe not to our own merits but to the redemptive work of our Lord (Rom. iii. 24). But on this point there is no disagreement among Christians. The Council of Trent equally affirms that 'the meritorious cause of justification is our Lord Jesus Christ, who merited justification for us by His passion'[1]; and divergences begin to arise not over such fundamental statements as that 'we have our redemption through His blood, the forgiveness of our trespasses according to the riches of God's grace' (Eph. i. 7; Tit. iii. 7), but upon the subsidiary point as to the office of faith in responding to it. 'By grace have ye been saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God: not of works, that no man should glory' (Eph. ii. 8).

§ 3, to which all that precedes has been leading up, asserts that the office of faith is to be the condition of Justification on our part. **We are justified by faith only.**

(1) What then is meant by *faith*? In the New Testament it ranges over a wide field, and rises from mere belief or intellectual assent to a proposition, *e.g.* 'that God is one,' as when it is said that 'the devils also

[1] Sess. v. c. 7.

believe' this 'and shudder' (Jas. ii. 19), up to faith on (Acts xi. 17; Rom. iv. 5) or in (Acts x. 43; Gal. ii. 16; Phil. i. 29) a Person, Jesus Christ. This alone is justifying faith: for it is a faith like that of Abraham (Rom. iv. 21, 22) or of S. Peter (Matt. xvi. 16, *sqq.*), involving moral self-surrender to a Person, and reposing its confidence, not in a message about His atoning death, but in His own ever-present aid as the Risen Lord (Rom. iv. 24, 25; x. 9; 2 Cor. i. 9; iv. 13, 14; Col. ii. 12; 1 Pet. i. 21). The contrast to be observed is exactly that between the belief which Martha had, that there should be a resurrection, and the faith which our Lord required of her in Himself—'I am the resurrection. . . . Believest thou this?' (John xi. 24-27). Justifying faith is a thing not of the head but of the heart (Rom. x. 9).

(2) But why *faith only*? The expression does not occur in the New Testament, except for condemnation (Jas. ii. 24). We will return to that point presently. But S. Paul does affirm that faith is the sole condition of justification on our part. 'We reckon that a man is justified by faith apart from the works of the law' (Rom. iii. 28). It is true that the faith which justifies, springing as it does from personal devotion to a Person, is a 'faith working through love' (Gal. v. 6). But as in the first of these passages it is not meant to exclude any other instrument on God's part from the office of justifying, such as Baptism, which is 'unto remission of sins' (Acts ii. 38; Rom. vi. 6, 7), so in the second, all that is meant is to exclude works of charity from that office, not to exclude them altogether. Thus it is expressly 'to him that worketh not but believeth on Him that justifieth' that 'his faith is reckoned for righteousness' (Rom. iv. 5). *Faith only* is the condition of justification; and it is all-sufficient for the purpose because it carries with it, as a thing of the heart, the self-surrender of the whole man.

(3) It is this doctrine, then, **that we are justified by faith only**, which the Article describes as **a most wholesome doctrine and very full of comfort.** Words could not be better chosen. The condition of free forgiveness on our side is faith or whole-hearted self-surrender. Now

the *comfort* of this is that, in being offered on such terms, acceptance with God is placed within the reach of all. Head and hands can do little: we can neither understand much of God nor earn His favour: but there is no man who has not a heart to place at His disposal. But given such a change of heart, God receives a guarantee for the future, whose value cannot be equalled; for 'personal adhesion' is 'the highest and most effective motive-power of which human character is capable.'[1] Here, then, in its promotion of moral effort (Rom. iii. 31), lies the *wholesomeness* of the doctrine; and it is only in its perverted forms, when faith is taken to mean something less than an entire self-surrender, that it ceases to be wholesome. Unwholesome perversions are such as were condemned by S. James and maintained by Luther.

(*a*) *The relation of SS. Paul and James* to each other is one of verbal contradiction, but substantial agreement. Both start from the case of Abraham (Gen. xv. 6; Rom. iv. 3; Jas. ii. 23), a standing thesis for discussions in the Jewish schools (*cf.* 1 Macc. ii. 52), and come to exactly opposite conclusions, S. Paul that 'To Abraham his faith was reckoned for righteousness' (Rom. iv. 9), S. James, that 'by works a man is justified, and not only by faith' (Jas. ii. 24). But (*a*) they give different senses to 'faith.' With S. James, it is only assent to a proposition (Jas. ii. 19), an affair of the head; with S. Paul, an affair of the heart (Gal. v. 6; Rom. x. 10); and 'faith' in S. James corresponds to 'knowledge' (1 Cor. viii. 1) in S. Paul. (β) They give different meanings to 'works.' The works that S. Paul condemns are 'works of law' (Rom. iii. 20; R.V. marg.); those which S. James requires are works of charity (Jas. ii. 15-17). (γ) They attach different ideas to 'justification,' S. Paul using it of the initial act by which God, of His free grace, puts a soul into a right relation with Himself; St. James, of its final vindication before Him (Jas. ii. 14 and 24). (δ) Each, moreover, had a different type of error to deal with. S. Paul writes, as a theologian, against theories of human merit; S. James, like a prophet, indignantly asks of a

[1] Sanday and Headlam, on *Romans*, p. 34.

barren and unsympathetic orthodoxy, 'Can that faith save?' (Jas. ii. 14). It is probable that S. James, so far from being at variance with S. Paul, was employing carefully guarded language to correct a misuse by others of teaching peculiarly exposed to misrepresentation (*cf.* Rom. iii. 8; 2 Pet. iii. 16).

(*b*) *Luther*, who had to face a condition of practical error not unlike that which confronted S. Paul, understood him well; but, in his dread of admitting anything that savoured of human merit, he went too far. He rightly took justification to mean forgiveness or acquittal, and insisted that faith only is the condition upon which we receive it. But the reaction carried him beyond this point. He reduced faith to the level of mere belief. He made it that on account of (*propter*, διά with acc.) which, instead of that through (*per*, διά with gen.; *cf.* Gal. ii. 16) which, we are justified; or, in other words, treated it as the meritorious cause, rather than the condition, of our justification. He extended justification to cover more than the initial act by which God receives us into favour, and made it do duty for sanctification and salvation as well. Thus with Luther, 'We are justified through faith only' tended to mean 'We are saved by mere belief'; and this accounts for both types of excess which dogged the heels of his reformation, though with neither had he any personal sympathy. His disparagement of the good works naturally accompanying a faith which worketh by love led to antinomianism. His ascription to faith of the office, not of justifying only, but of saving as well, is Solifidianism. This is an error which makes faith only (*sola fides*) the be-all and end-all of religion, and is responsible for that neglect of the Church and the Sacraments as means of grace which has been characteristic of Protestantism since Luther's day.

ARTICLE XII

De Bonis Operibus.	Of Good Works.
‡ **Bona opera, quae sunt fructus fidei et justificatos sequuntur, quanquam peccata nostra expiare et divini judicii severitatem ferre non possunt,** Deo tamen grata sunt et accepta in Christo, atque ex vera et viva fide necessario profluunt, ut plane ex illis aeque fides viva cognosci possit atque arbor ex fructu judicari.‡	Albeit that good works, which are the fruits of faith and follow after justification, cannot put away our sins and endure the severity of God's judgment, yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith, insomuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by the fruit.

(i) **Source.**—Composed in 1563, the first clause, in **thick type**, being based on the Confession of Würtemberg.

(ii) **Object.** — This Article, like the next, is of the nature of an appendix to the statement of Art. 11, that 'we are justified by faith only.' Solifidianism denied the necessity, the Council of Trent, in its session of January 13, 1547,[1] asserted the merit, of Good Works. The first position was a corollary of, the second a revulsion from, Luther's extravagant depreciation of good works in the justified as sin. This led to antinomianism. The Article seeks to check it[2] by assigning to good works an acceptable and necessary, yet not a meritorious, place in God's sight.

(iii) **Explanation.**—Very little is needed. We have already seen that **good works** is almost a technical expression for works of Christians done in a Christian spirit and from Christian motives. Thus they necessarily **follow after justification**, and their office may be

[1] Sess. vi. can. 32.

[2] *Cf.* p. 137, above.

described (*a*) negatively and (*b*) positively. They (*a*) **cannot put away our sins.** The condition of justification, or remission of sins, on our part, is faith, not works; and its instrument, on God's part, baptism. Then only do we become Christians; and then *good works*, in the above sense of Christian works, become possible, but not till then. Yet even they cannot *put away* or expiate our sins. Only the blood of Christ can do that (1 John i. 7); nor, in view of the imperfection even of our best deeds (Ps. cxliii. 2; Rom. iii. 23) can they **endure the severity of God's judgment.** Thus in no sense can they be meritorious, or, as the Schoolmen said, deserve grace *de condigno*, *i.e.* be rewarded as deserving reward. Yet (*b*) they have their necessary place, and a positive value of their own. If only it be remembered that faith, as moral self-surrender to a Person, has an enthusiastic element in it as 'working through love' (Gal. v. 6), it will be obvious that **good works . . . are the fruits of faith . . . and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith,** and are its sole evidences (Matt. vii. 16-20; Tit. iii. 8; Jas. ii. 17 *sqq.*) to men. But they have a further value as **pleasing and acceptable to God.** 'Our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ . . . gave himself for us that He might . . . purify unto Himself a people for His own possession, zealous of good works' (Tit. ii. 13). God is thus represented as entering upon the plan of redemption with a view to the pleasure He would derive from our good works. But they are only acceptable **in Christ,** *i.e.* because of our union with His Son. We are 'created in Christ Jesus for good works' (Eph. ii. 10). We can only 'offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ' (1 Pet. ii. 5).

ARTICLE XIII

De Operibus ante Justificationem.

Opera quae fiunt ante gratiam Christi et Spiritus ejus afflatum, cum ex fide Jesu Christi non prodeant, minime Deo grata sunt, neque gratiam (ut multi vocant) de congruo merentur: imo cum non sint facta ut Deus illa fieri voluit et praecepit, peccati rationem habere non dubitamus.

Of Works before Justification.

Works done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of His Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the School authors say) deserve grace of congruity: yea, rather for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.

(i) **Source.**—Composed in 1552-3, and unchanged since.

(ii) **Object.**—To condemn the Scholastic theory of congruous merit. It is a second attempt to define the precise value of good works, and so to protect from invasion the true doctrine of Justification by Faith only, as contained in Art. 11.

(iii) **Explanation.**—(1) First note that the *text does not agree with the title.*[1] The title speaks of **Works before Justification.** The Article concerns **Works done before the grace of Christ**: and it is clear from Scripture that the *grace of Christ* sometimes precedes justification. Thus the grace of compunction (Acts ii. 37) was at work upon the hearts of those who heard S. Peter's sermon at Pentecost. But they were not yet justified; for they still had to 'repent and be baptized . . . unto the remission of their sins' (ii. 38). Again, S. Paul received grace at his conversion, for it was announced to Ananias, 'Behold, he prayeth' (ix. 11): but he was not justified till he

[1] For inexact titles, *cf.* Arts. 10, 31.

was baptized (ix. 18) 'three days' (ix. 9) afterwards. The initial grace of God may therefore precede justification, nor is it for us to say by how long an interval. Consequently the area of **works not pleasant to God** is more limited than at first sight of the title might appear. The earliest draft of the Edwardian Articles, that numbering forty-five and signed by the six royal chaplains (1552),[1] spoke in the text of 'works done before justification' as not pleasing to God: and a hundred years later the Westminster Divines suggested an emendation in this direction.[2] Cranmer, on the publication of the Forty-two Articles in 1553, brought the *text* of the Article into conformity with Scripture: but the *title* was left unaltered. For a similar discrepancy between title and text see Arts. 10 and 31. The titles, of course, must give way.

(2) Art. 12 has laid it down that 'good works . . . which follow after justification . . . are pleasing to God.' The question next arises, 'What of works that precede the grace of God? The former are acceptable because they are the 'fruits of faith.' The latter **are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ** (Rom. viii. 7, 8; John xv. 5). But **the School authors** thought otherwise. They were the systematic theologians of the Middle Ages, who made it their business at first to harmonise faith and reason, and afterwards to give a rational explanation for whatever the Church had thought fit to do. Merit was, in fact, attached to good works: and the Schoolmen justified the current practice by their doctrine of a twofold merit attaching to human actions. To such works as are done with the assistance of grace they ascribed merit *de condigno*: by which they meant that a reward was due as a matter of justice. This position is condemned in Art. 12. Such *works* as are done by man's own unaided strength *before the grace of God*, would, they held, be rewarded out of God's liberality: for, as fitting in with, or being in harmony with, the will of God, **they make men meet to receive grace, or . . . deserve grace** (de congruo) of

[1] Vol. i. p. 25. [2] *Ib.*, p. 61.

congruity. God was not indeed bound to reward such actions, but it was congruous or fitting that He should. The instance usually adduced was that of Cornelius, whose 'prayers and alms came up as a memorial before God' (Acts x. 4), and were held to have drawn down God's grace upon him. But the instance is not to the point. It cannot be shewn that Cornelius' prayers and alms were done in his own unaided strength and before the grace of God. It is the assertion that they were, and were fittingly rewarded by God as a matter not of right but of equity, that the Article condemns. And this condemnation rests on two grounds: (*a*) that of Art. 10, that the initial grace in man's salvation comes from God; (*b*) that of the unacceptableness in God's sight of all that is not of faith (Rom. xiv. 23; Tit. i. 15; Heb. xi. 6). **For that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.** The last phrase, '*have the nature* of sin' (*cf.* Art. 9), would seem to hint the element of imperfection in all human effort as a further reason why the works in question can have no merit of congruity. At the same time, it stops short of calling them worthless or sinful. In signing this Article, therefore, we are not called upon to regard the heathen's efforts after good as sins: only to deny that they are unaided by God's grace, and *deserve grace of congruity.* If there is a light that lighteth every man (John i. 9) and grace at work even outside the covenant, whatever is good in any man is to be ascribed to it: and is only not acceptable so far as it is imperfectly Christian.

ARTICLE XIV

De Operibus Supererogationis.

Opera quae Supererogationis appellant non possunt sine arrogantia et impietate praedicari. Nam illis declarant homines non tantum se Deo reddere quae tenentur, sed plus in ejus gratiam facere quam deberent: cum aperte Christus dicat: Cum feceritis omnia quaecunque praecepta sunt vobis, dicite, Servi inutiles sumus.

Of Works of Supererogation.

Voluntary works besides, over and above, God's commandments which they call Works of Supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety. For by them men do declare that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for His sake than of bounden duty is required: Whereas Christ saith plainly, When ye have done all that are commanded to you, say, We be unprofitable servants.

(i) **Source.**—Composed in 1552-3, and unchanged since.

(ii) **Object.**—To define more accurately the place of Good Works by condemning the tenet of Works of Supererogation taught by some of the Schoolmen.

(iii) **Explanation.**—(1) The term *Supererogation* is the English of a Latin word which occurs in the Vulgate version of the parable of the Good Samaritan. 'Take care of him: and whatsoever thou spendest more (*quodcunque supererogaveris*), I, when I come back again, will repay thee' (Luke x. 35). **Works of Supererogation** was thus the technical expression for **voluntary works besides over and above God's commandments**: 'extras,' in fact, which the saints did but were not required to do, and which thus constituted for them an excess of merit.

(2) The value attached to Works of Supererogation

appears but late in the history of *Indulgences*. The word 'Indulgence,' which has now a sinister sound, was originally borrowed from the law-books of the Roman Empire, and meant simply (*a*) a remission of punishment or taxation. The Church, in early days, had her disciplinary system: and, as a rule, visited those who had lapsed in time of persecution with penalties, such as exclusion, more or less complete, from her ordinances, lasting over a term of years. It rested, however, with the bishop, as administrator of this penitential discipline, to remit the penance, or part of it, where he saw evidence of true contrition. Such a lightening of ecclesiastical penalties was of the nature of an Indulgence. But so far an Indulgence was no more than (*b*) the remission of canonical penance imposed by the Church herself: and she might fairly claim to exercise the right both of imposing and remitting on the ground that Our Lord left her authority to 'bind' and 'loose' (Matt. xviii. 18). So things stood till the seventh century. There was then a civil institution called 'Wehrgeld,' by which, in case a man had been injured or slain, compensation had to be paid by the offender to him or to his relatives. The Western Church now commuted the penalties formerly exacted for sins into monetary fines, assessed at a fixed tariff in her 'Penitentials.' This commutation of penance for money could not but be demoralising. Men ceased to look upon a definite penance as attached to a particular sin; and came to think that by certain gifts or acts the penalties due to sin in general might be escaped. This was at last explicitly stated in the eleventh century. To go on the Crusade, was, by a grant of the Council of Clermont, 1095, to 'count instead of all penance': and similar remissions were presently attached to less onerous acts of piety, such as giving alms, undertaking a pilgrimage, or making the journey to Rome for a Papal Jubilee. In the year 1300 Boniface VIII. established the Jubilee, and promised 'the fullest forgiveness of all sins' to such as took part in it. Thus an Indulgence was now (*c*) a remission of the temporal penalties for sin in return for acts from which the Church profited. The phrase of Pope Boniface covers more: but it must not be forgotten

that the great theologians of the thirteenth century, in shaping the theory of Indulgences, confine them to remissions of the temporal penalty (*poena*) as distinct from the eternal guilt (*culpa*) of sin. Guilt is forgiven in absolution; but the purely temporal penalties remain. It was now held that, if not duly performed or authoritatively remitted in this life, they might be reduced, or even wiped off, by Indulgence in purgatory; for purgatory, as falling between death and the Judgment, belongs not to eternity but to time. For this purpose Indulgences might be obtained by the living and transferred to the account of departed friends: and it thus became one of the first of pious duties to accumulate a store of Indulgences for their benefit as well as for one's own.

(*d*) All that was now necessary was to set the current religious practice on an intelligible basis. This was first taken in hand by the Schoolmen of the thirteenth century, who invented the doctrine of the Treasury of Merits which received formal authorisation from Clement VI. in 1343. In Christ's sacrifice there was a large supererogatory element. He did far more than was necessary for the world's salvation. The same is true in their degree of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints. These supererogatory merits, or *voluntary works besides over and above God's commandments*, constituted a spiritual treasure, which the Church, as represented by the Pope, who has the keys of heaven (Matt. xvi. 19) and so of purgatory, is able to apply to the benefit of souls there.

(3) This is the theory that the Article summarily rejects: and had it not been a maxim with the Schoolmen to defend at all costs whatever the Church had thought fit to do, it is difficult to see how such a theory could have been seriously put forward, or held to require a grave repudiation. There is certainly a distinction traceable in the New Testament between 'precepts' and 'counsels' (1 Cor. vii. 25). There are duties for all alike: and there are states of life, to which some only are called, such as Vows of Marriage, or Vows, like those of a 'Religious,' to poverty (Matt. xix. 21) or chastity (1 Cor. vii. 26, 32 *sqq.*), which Our Lord recognises even with

special approbation[1] (Matt. xix. 12; *cf.* Rev. xiv. 4). But in such cases, once the call has come, the 'counsel' becomes a 'precept,' a duty to the particular soul concerned, though not to others. 'He that is able to receive it, *let him receive it*' (Matt. xix. 12). There can therefore be no excess of merit. We may well wonder what is the need for the merits of the saints in this connection, when Christ's merit is infinite; for they would only be finite, and could not be added to His, still less increase it. But the real offence of the theory is its arrogancy and impiety. The notion that men can not only render to God as much as they are bound to do, but that they may actually do more for His sake than of bounden duty is required, is directly contrary to His own words: When ye have done all that are commanded to you, say, We be unprofitable servants (Luke xvii. 10).

[1] Cf. *The Christian Year*, for Wednesday before Easter.

ARTICLE XV

De Christo qui solus est sine Peccato.	Of Christ alone without Sin.
(§ 1) Christus in nostrae naturae veritate per omnia similis factus est nobis, excepto peccato, a quo prorsus est immunis, tum in carne tum in spiritu. Venit ut agnus absque macula esset, qui mundi peccata per immolationem sui semel factam tolleret: et peccatum, ut inquit Johannes, in eo non erat. (§ 2) Sed nos reliqui, etiam baptizati et in Christo regenerati, in multis tamen offendimus omnes: et, si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est.	(§ 1) Christ in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things, sin only except, from which He was clearly void, both in His flesh and in His spirit. He came to be the lamb without spot, Who by sacrifice of Himself once made, should take away the sins of the world: and sin, as S. John saith, was not in Him. (§ 2) But all we the rest, although baptized and born again in Christ, yet offend in many things: and if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.

(i) **Source.**—Composed in 1552-3, and since unchanged.

(ii) **Object.**—Uncertain: but, if we may judge by the position of the Article, next to Art. 14, and by its structure,[1] according to which Christ's unique sinlessness and satisfaction seem to be emphasised in § 1 in order to lead up to the assertion in § 2 of the sinfulness of all the rest of mankind, it may fairly be supposed that it was intended to supplement and strengthen the denial of supererogatory merits as simple impossibilities. This universality of the taint of sin was also denied by the Anabaptists; and by certain Schoolmen who taught the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, *i.e.* her freedom from Original Sin. The Article excludes

[1] *Cf.* Arts. 7, 10, 11, 16, 20, 21, 31, 32, 36.

the errors of both extremes. It need hardly be added that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady was not erected into a dogma by the Roman Church till December 8, 1854.

(iii) **Explanation.**—§ 1. Sin is no part of human nature, but 'the fault and corruption' of it (Art. 9). Our Lord, therefore, when He took flesh (John i. 14), came 'in the likeness of sinful flesh' (Rom. viii. 3), in this sense that His flesh, though real, was not sinful flesh. He was thus not only actually sinless, as His enemies (John viii. 46) and His earliest followers (2 Cor. v. 21; Heb. vii. 26, 27; 1 Pet. ii. 22) alike confessed, but incapable of sin (Heb. iv. 15), as His own conscience testified (John xiv. 30). This gave its supreme worth to His satisfaction. He was **the Lamb without spot** (John i. 29; 1 Pet. i. 19) whose sacrifice, as **the sacrifice of Himself to take away sins**, was a full expiation (1 John iv. 10); as **once made** (Heb. ix. 26; *cf.* Art. 31) was unique; and as able to **take away the sins of the world** (1 John ii. 2) was all-availing. This was possible, for **sin, as S. John saith, was not in Him** (1 John iii. 5). But § 2 it is in us. **Although baptized and born again in Christ** we yet **offend in many things** (Jas. iii. 2) and commit *actual* sin. We suffer too from the effects of *original* sin: for **if we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us** (1 John i. 8). Only set Christ's sinlessness and our sinfulness thus side by side, and the silent conclusion, which the Article points to but does not name, is the impossibility of any merit attaching to works of ours. Merit is exclusively His.

ARTICLE XVI

De Peccato post Baptismum.

(§ 1) Non omne peccatum mortale post Baptismum voluntarie perpetratum, est peccatum in Spiritum Sanctum, et irremissibile. Proinde lapsis a Baptismo in peccata locus penetentiae non est negandus. (§ 2) Post acceptum Spiritum Sanctum possumus a gratia data recedere atque peccare, denuoque per gratiam Dei resurgere ac resipiscere. Ideoque illi damnandi sunt qui se quamdiu hic vivant, amplius non posse peccare affirmant, aut vere resipiscentibus veniae locum denegant.

Of Sin after Baptism.

(§ 1) Not every deadly sin willingly committed after Baptism is sin against the Holy Ghost, and unpardonable. Wherefore the grant of repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after Baptism. (§ 2) After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given and fall into sin, and by the grace of God we may arise again and amend our lives. And therefore they are to be condemned, which say they can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny the place of forgiveness to such as truly repent.

(i) **Source.**—Composed in 1552-3, and but slightly changed since.

(ii) **Object.**—Directed against Anabaptist errors to the effect that 'sinners after baptism cannot be restored by repentance,'[1] and that the 'regenerate cannot sin'[2] or fall from grace. The Council of Trent, the *Reformatio Legum*, and Calvin all bear out the testimony of the Article to the existence of such errors.

(iii) **Explanation.**—§ 1 states that *deadly sin is not unpardonable.* This is merely a negative proposition, intended to meet that of the Anabaptist with a direct denial. **Not every deadly sin willingly committed after Baptism is sin against the Holy Ghost, and unpardonable.** The Article is not concerned to define the nature of the unpardonable sin: and in 1563 Archbishop Parker deliberately struck out Art. 16 of the Edwardian series, *Of Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost*,[3] which attempted

[1] See 32 Henry VIII. c. 49 § 11, vol. i. p. 18.
[2] See Hooper's letter, vol. i. p. 33.
[3] See Appendix.

the task. There are, however, two sets of passages in the New Testament which deal with deadly sin; and the question is, Do they support the assertion that it is not unpardonable? (1) The first series consists of those in which Our Lord speaks of Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost (Matt. xii. 31, 32; Mark iii. 28, 29; Luke xii. 10). Taking S. Mark's account, as the fullest, it appears (*a*) that Our Lord does not speak in general terms of sin against the Holy Ghost, but of one sin; (*b*) that this particular sin is 'blasphemy,' a sin of the tongue; (*c*) that it 'hath never forgiveness' because it is not so much an act as a condition, 'an eternal sin'; and (*d*) that its character is further limited by S. Mark's explanation, 'because they said, He hath an unclean spirit.' Thus the unpardonable sin is of a special kind. It is not even said that the Pharisees on that occasion had actually committed it, though it is implied that they were on the verge of doing so: and what they were doing was wilfully ascribing to diabolic agency that which manifestly could only be the work of the good God. Probably the unpardonable sin has been rightly defined as 'an *outward expression* of an inward hatred of that which is recognised and felt to be divine':[1] and it is unpardonable not because God ever willingly refuses His grace, but because the hatred which prompts such 'blasphemy' is so settled as to be eternally incapable of fulfilling the conditions of forgiveness. 'An eternal sin' necessarily involves an eternal punishment. But whether this definition be right or not, Our Lord's words give no countenance to the proposition that every deadly sin willingly committed after baptism is sin against the Holy Ghost and unpardonable. (2) But do the other passages, usually alleged for the purpose? In (*a*) Heb. vi. 4-6, the writer is speaking of Christians who had been both baptized and confirmed (4) and 'then fell away' by a definite act of apostasy. Of such persons he says that 'the while' (R. V. marg. *i.e.* 'so long as') 'they crucify' (*pres.* 'go on crucifying') 'to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put (*pres.* 'go on putting') Him to an open

[1] Ellicott, *Lectures on the Life of our Lord*, p. 187 n. 1. (The italics are his.)

shame, it is impossible to renew them again unto repentance.' But there is nothing said as to the impossibility of doing so, if they should forego their opposition and return. Similarly in (*b*) Heb. x. 26-29 the 'fearful expectation of judgment' is denounced only to those who, after full knowledge of Christ (26), deliberately reject Him (29) and go on sinning wilfully (26): while in (*c*) Heb. xii. 14-17 it is not said that Esau sought diligently for a place of repentance and failed to find it, but that he failed to find it because what he sought was not the place of repentance but the blessing. In all three passages the failure to find pardon is described as due not to God's refusal to forgive but to the sinner's unwillingness to comply with His conditions of forgiveness. Finally (*d*) S. John, in the passage on which the distinction between mortal and venial sin is based (1 John v. 16, 17), does not define 'sin unto death,' *i.e.* the sin whose natural issue would be death, nor does he absolutely forbid intercession for it: and there is nothing to show that in his judgment it might not be forgiven, if repented of and forsaken, like any other sin. Thus the Scripture lends no support to the statement that all deadly sin after Baptism is unpardonable. It follows that **the grant of repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after Baptism**: and the best proof of this is S. Paul's treatment of the incestuous man at Corinth. Of the deadly nature of his sin (1 Cor. v. 1), and of his delivery to Satan (5) there can be no doubt: but the punishment was inflicted 'that his spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus,' and, if 2 Cor. ii. 5-11 refers, as is commonly held, to the same case, he afterwards obtained not only *the grant of repentance* (*locus penitentiae*) when he was reinstated by the Church (7), but also **the place of forgiveness** (**locus veniae**) when he was forgiven by the Apostle 'in the person of Christ' (10).

§ 2 *repudiates the doctrine that the regenerate cannot sin*, *i.e.* that grace is indefectible. The Article unhesitatingly affirms that **after we have received the Holy Ghost we may depart from grace given and fall into sin, and by the grace of God we may arise again and amend our lives. And therefore they are to be condemned which say they can no more**

sin as long as they live here. The last assertion found apparent support from the language of S. John, *e.g.* 'Whosoever abideth in Him sinneth not (1 John iii. 6) . . . Whosoever is begotten of God doeth no sin' (9; *cf.* v. 18). But S. John had previously said, 'If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves' (i. 8): and in iii. 6-9 the expression 'sinneth not' is explained by 'doeth no sin,' an expression which is so phrased in the original as to make it clear that what he asserts to be impossible to the regenerate is the habit and practice of sin rather than isolated acts of sin. He is only saying, in his own aphoristic way, what S. Paul puts in mixed exhortation and argument, that if we would but reckon ourselves to be dead unto sin, as indeed we are by our Baptism, sin need not reign in us that we should obey the lusts thereof (*cf.* Rom. vi. 2, 11-14). But it is there, and there is danger of sinning. If this were not so, all the hortatory parts of the Epistles would be gratuitous, particularly any such caution as that of S. Peter, to 'make your calling and election sure' (2 Pet. i. 10). So would Our Lord's own warnings that the good seed might become unfruitful (Matt. xiii. 22), the salt lose its savour (Matt. v. 13), the branch in the vine be cast forth (John xv. 6): passages addressed to His hearers as the future citizens and Apostles of His Kingdom, *i.e.* as baptized.

It only remains to add that the Calvinists, while rejecting the doctrine that the regenerate cannot sin, substituted for it the tenet of Final Perseverance, to the effect that they cannot finally, though they may temporarily, fall from grace. They would have admitted reluctantly that *we may depart from grace*: but they would have said not that *by the grace of God we may*, but that we must, *arise again and amend our lives*. This is quite inconsistent with S. Paul's fear that he might 'be rejected' (1 Cor. ix. 27) or fail to 'apprehend' (Phil. iii. 12): and it was a happy thing that only failure attended the repeated attempts of the Puritans, from 1572 onwards, to get the article amended so as to make room for their unscriptural tenet of the irresistibility of grace.[1]

[1] See vol. i. pp. 54 *sqq.*

ARTICLE XVII

De Praedestinatione et Electione.

(§ 1) Praedestinatio ad vitam est aeternum Dei propositum, quo, ante jacta mundi fundamenta, suo consilio, nobis quidem occulto, constanter decrevit eos, quos ‡in Christo‡ elegit ex hominum genere, a maledicto et exitio liberare, atque ut vasa in honorem efficta per Christum ad aeternam salutem adducere. (§ 2) Unde qui tam praeclaro Dei beneficio sunt donati, illi, Spiritu ejus opportuno tempore operante, secundum propositum ejus vocantur; vocationi per gratiam parent; justificatur gratis; adoptantur in filios Dei; unigeniti ejus Jesu Christi imagini efficiuntur conformes; in bonis operibus sancti ambulant; et demum ex Dei misericordia pertingunt ad sempiternam felicitatem.

(§ 3) Quemadmodum Praedestinationis et Electionis nostrae in Christo pia consideratio dulcis, suavis, et ineffabilis consolationis plena est vere piis et his qui sentiunt in se vim Spiritus Christi, facta carnis et membra quae adhuc sunt super terram mortificantem, animumque ad cœlestia et superna rapientem,

Of Predestination and Election.

(§ 1) Predestination to life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby, before the foundations of the world were laid, He hath constantly decreed by His counsel secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom He hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation as vessels made to honour. (§ 2) Wherefore they which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God be called according to God's purpose by His Spirit working in due season; they through grace obey the calling; they be justified freely; they be made sons of God by adoption; they be made like the image of His only-begotten Son Jesus Christ; they walk religiously in good works; and at length by God's mercy they attain to everlasting felicity.

(§ 3) As the godly consideration of Predestination and our Election in Christ is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons and such as feel in themselves the working of the Spirit

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tum quia fidem nostram de aeterna salute consequenda per Christum plurimum stabilit atque confirmat, tum quia amorem nostrum in Deum vehementer accendit: ita hominibus, curiosis carnalibus et Spiritu Christi destitutis, ob oculos perpetuo versari Praedestinationis Dei sententiam perniciosissimum est praecipitium, unde illos diabolus protrudit vel in desperationem vel in aeque pernitiosam impurissimae vitae securitatem.

(§ 4) Deinde promissiones divinas sic amplecti oportet, ut nobis in sacris literis generaliter propositae sunt; et Dei voluntas in nostris actionibus ea sequenda est quam in verbo Dei habemus deserte revelatam.

of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh and their earthly members and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things, as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God: so for curious and carnal persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's Predestination is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the devil doth thrust them either into desperation or into wretchlessness of most unclean living no less perilous than desperation.

(§ 4) Furthermore, we must receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture; and in our doings that will of God is to be followed which we have expressly declared unto us in the word of God.

(i) **Source.**—Composed in 1552-3: and since retained as it then stood, except for the addition of 'in Christo' in § 1, and the omission in § 4 of 'although the decrees of Predestination are unknown to us,' after 'Furthermore.'

(ii) **Object.**—To allay the angry disputes upon Predestination, already rife in England in 1552, as we learn from the *Reformatio Legum*; and to guard against the extravagances both of belief and practice consequent upon the tenet of Reprobation.

(iii) **Explanation.**—§ 1 merely explains *what is meant by Predestination and Election*, and that in the language of Scripture without note or comment. It is chiefly based on Eph. i. 3-11, with allusions to Rom. viii. 28-30; ix. 21.

We note (1) the restraint of its language, and this in two directions. (*a*) The Article only observes that

Predestination to life is the everlasting purpose of God. It avoids saying that the election of some implies the rejection of all the rest, and so declines to be committed to the doctrine of Reprobation, according to which all who are not predestinated to eternal life were held to be predestinated to eternal death. (β) It says nothing about the motive or cause of such predestination, and refuses to enter into the question whether it proceeds from the arbitrary decree of God's absolute will, irrespective of anything in those predestinated, or whether it is somehow consequent upon God's foreknowledge of their ways, good or bad. The Article is content merely to state the fact that **He hath constantly decreed by His counsel . . . to deliver . . . those whom He hath chosen**, and to emphasise the truth that this counsel is **secret to us**, a mystery we are not to pry into.

On the other hand (2) the positive statements of the Article, so far as they go, faithfully reflect the Scriptural doctrine of Predestination and Election in its double aspect. (α) In the main drift of Holy Scripture the 'elect people of God' are chosen to privilege. They consist of those who have been brought within the covenant; in the Old Testament, of circumcision, in the New Testament, of baptism (*cf.* Ex. xix. 5; 1 Pet. i. 1, 2; ii. 9). There the elect or chosen are the **chosen in Christ**, or the baptized (Col. iii. 1, 9, 10, 12). Thus S. Paul addresses his readers as the 'called' (Rom. i. 6), and S. Peter as the 'elect' (1 Pet. i. 1). Both imply that some of their converts were in danger of falling away (1 Cor. x. 6 *sqq.*; 1 Pet. v. 8): and S. Peter definitely charges his people to 'make their calling and election sure' (2 Pet. i. 10). Clearly then, in the Apostolic Epistles, the elect are elect to grace only, and not to final glory (*cf.* John vi. 70). But (β) in the Gospels, Our Lord expressly distinguishes between the called and the elect. 'Many are called but few chosen' (Matt. xxii. 14): while in the language of Rom. ix. 21, 22, there is a corresponding contrast drawn between 'vessels of wrath fitted unto destruction,' and 'vessels of mercy which God afore prepared unto glory.' The latter it is definitely said that God predestinated unto

life, though it is not said that *He* fitted the former unto destruction. A potter never makes vessels merely for destruction. But the distinction between the called and the elect remains in fact; and thus the teaching of Scripture, taken as a whole, reflects, in its main drift, what is known as the doctrine of Ecclesiastical Election, viz., that some men are elect to privilege; but it also recognises the further truth that there are, too, some elect to glory; though it is not part of this truth either that those elect to glory are known to us, or that those who are not of the number are foreordained to reprobation.

It will now be clear that the language of § 1 is so drawn as to cover the Scriptural doctrine of predestination to life in its entirety; but with special care to avoid unwarranted and extravagant statements already current, such as those which afterwards became familiar to Englishmen through the works of Calvin (1509-1564). He held that 'by Predestination we mean the eternal decree of God, by which He has determined with Himself what He would have to become of each individual man. For all are not created in like condition, but for some eternal life, and for others eternal damnation, is foreordained. Therefore, according as each one was created for one of these two ends, we say that he is predestinated either to life or to death.'[1] He repudiated the denial of Reprobation as illogical, 'since election itself would not stand unless it were opposed to reprobation.'[2] He taught that Predestination and Reprobation proceeded from a purely arbitrary decree of God. 'Those, therefore, whom God passes over, He reprobates, and that from no other cause than that He wills to exclude them from the inheritance which He predestinates for His sons.'[2] His followers summed up his system in the nine Lambeth Articles and the Five Points of orthodox Calvinism.[3] But by the moderation of § 1 of Art. 17, by its precise repudiation of the most dangerous of Calvin's tenets, that of particular redemption in § 4, as well as by the teaching of Arts. 9 and 16, the Calvinistic scheme was

[1] *Institutes*, III. xxi. 5. [2] *Ib.*, xxiii. 1. [3] See vol. i. pp. 55, 57.

effectually prevented, by anticipation, from obtaining a footing in our formularies. This has been an unmixed blessing, for it is an immoral creed.

§ 2 proceeds to describe *the course of the predestinate.* In close dependence on Scripture, it enumerates seven stages in their progress from their original election to their final glory: (1) Vocation; (2) Obedience to vocation through grace; (3) Free justification; (4) Sonship by adoption; (5) Conformity to the likeness of Our Lord; (6) A religious life; (7) Everlasting felicity. The enumeration is based on Rom. viii. 28-30; and seems to be inserted with a view to providing against antinomian perversions of the doctrine of predestination to life. Such election on the part of God, though it does not proceed, as was afterwards contended by Arminius (1560-1609), from any foreseen merit of ours (*cf.* Rom. ix. 10-13), and is therefore not to be thought of as a consequence of God's foreknowledge, does require in the elect a real correspondence to His grace (Rom. xi. 21-24).

§ 3 states *the practical effect of the doctrine of Predestination,* with an eye to the fascination which the discussion of these high mysteries exercised over the sixteenth century mind. Happily we are not given to speculation of this sort in the nineteenth; but there are people still whom it attracts. It is well to be cautioned, as we are here, that while the thought of our predestination to life is full of consolation to a good man, for the merely inquisitive and carnally minded it is a topic to be avoided, as certain to lead in their case either to despair, if they come to believe that they are not predestinate to life, or to recklessness, if they believe that they are.

§ 4 provides *two rules for the interpretation of Scripture,* as safeguards against abuse of the doctrine. (*a*) The first is aimed at the tenet of particular redemption, which held that God's predestination had reference not to mankind at large, but to this and that particular individual (*cf.* Calvin's definition in § 2). On the contrary, says the Article, **We must receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture.** *Generally* means 'universally,' as in the

Catechism, when it is said that there are two sacraments 'generally necessary to salvation,' *i.e.* necessary for all mankind (humano generi), 'where they may be had.' Accordingly the rule laid down is that God's promises, such as that of Predestination and Election, are to be taken as applicable to all men, not to a favourite few, nor to individuals. (*b*) The second rule is aimed at the doctrine of Reprobation. **In our doings that will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared to us in the word of God.** That will is certainly that all men should be saved (1 Tim. ii. 4; *cf.* John iii. 16); and if that is God's purpose, we cannot say that he has reprobated any. Some of the Anabaptists, however, 'maintain,' as Hooper wrote in 1549, 'a fatal necessity; and that beyond and besides that will of His, which He has revealed to us in the Scriptures, God hath another will by which He altogether acts under some kind of necessity.'[1] This is mere fatalism: and the Article rejects it not tacitly only, as when it insists that our election *in Christ* (*cf.* §§ 1, 3) is the only election with which we are concerned, but explicitly by this rule, which lays down that we are only concerned with *that will of God . . . which we have expressly declared to us in the Word of God.* Taken together, the two rules further imply that we have only to do with the positive assurances of God, and are not at liberty to assert their contradictories by way of conclusions drawn from His Predestination of some to His Reprobation of others; still less to apply such conclusions where we like.

[1] Vol. i. p. 33.

ARTICLE XVIII

De speranda aeterna salute tantum in nomine Christi.

Sunt et illi anathematizandi qui dicere audent unumquemque in lege aut secta quam profitetur esse servandum, modo juxta illam et lumen naturae accurate vixerit: cum sacrae literae tantum Jesu Christi nomen praedicent in quo salvos fieri homines oporteat.

Of obtaining eternal salvation only by the name of Christ.

They also are to be had accursed that presume to say that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law and the light of nature. For Holy Scripture doth set out to us only the name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.

(i) **Source.**—Composed in 1552–3, and since unchanged.

(ii) **Object.**—To condemn a latitudinarian theory of a school of Anabaptists which held that, if men were only sincere in following out their own systems, even their rejection of Jesus Christ would prove no obstacle to their salvation. The tenet in question is noticed and condemned in the *Reformatio Legum*.

(iii) **Explanation.**—(1) At first sight the Article might seem to deny that salvation is open to the heathen, and such as have never heard the name of Christ. But this is not its purpose. (*a*) *The title*[1] should be strictly translated 'of hoping for eternal salvation,' etc. Such a phrase shows that the Article only refers to those who live within the sound of the Gospel, and is meant to assert, in effect, that they have no right to expect salvation but on God's terms, *i.e.* 'in the name of Christ.' This is clear from (*b*) its *contents*. **They also are to be had accursed, etc.** The connecting particle *also* appears to run back to the last clause of Art. 16, where it is said that *they are to be condemned which . . . deny the place of forgiveness to such as truly repent*. Both clauses point, in short, to the

[1] For inexact titles, *cf.* Arts. 10, 13, 31.

specific teaching of a particular set of persons. The question whether the heathen can be saved is not raised. If the Article asserts the truth of Acts iv. 12 (*cf.* 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6; 1 John v. 11, 12), this is not to deny the possible salvation of the heathen. 'God is the Saviour of all men,' and not only, though 'specially, of them that believe' (1 Tim. iv. 10). A heathen who is saved, will be saved not **by the law or sect which he professeth**, though he will be saved *in* it: for, if saved, it will be by virtue of service done (unconsciously, it may be, but really done) to Jesus Christ (Matt. xxv. 31-46), and by fidelity to 'the light which lighteth every man,' which is not **the light of nature**, but Christ Himself (John i. 9).

(2) But the Article leaves this question on one side. It is really aimed at the lax opinion which maintains that one religion is as good as another, and which has for its logical basis the denial of all objective truth whatever. The Anabaptists, claiming for themselves as they did a continuous or immediate inspiration, held that they were above the necessity of acknowledging as authoritative any body of revealed truth. They went so far as to draw the logical conclusion that they might reject Christ with impunity. 'There are such libertines and wretches,' writes Hooper, 'who are daring enough in their conventicles not only to deny that Christ is the Messiah and Saviour of the world, but also to call that blessed seed a mischievous fellow, and deceiver of the world.'[1] This was their sin, to hold that, after having received it, they could let the revealed faith go with impunity. It is condemned as explicitly in Holy Scripture as in the Article (Mark xvi. 16; John iii. 18, 19; xii. 48; 1 Pet. iv. 17).

There are few errors of the Anabaptists that find favour to-day, but none is more common than the deliberate adoption by a Christian of the latitudinarian position that a man's creed does not matter if his life is right. It is the only error definitely anathematised in the Articles, as in the Athanasian Creed: and it is as distinctly condemned by Our Lord Himself.

[1] *Cf.* vol. i. p. 33.

Group C. Articles dealing with **Corporate Religion, or the Church, the Ministry, and the Sacraments (Arts. 19-31).**

(i) After defining **the Church** and denying infallibility to any one part of it (19), the formulary treats of (*a*) the authority of the Church and its limitations (20); (*b*) General Councils as the voice of the Church (21); (*c*) certain doctrines sanctioned by Councils claiming to be General (22).

(ii) Next, of **the Ministers** of the Church; as to (*a*) their call and mission (23), and (*b*) the language proper to their ministrations (24).

(iii) Then, of **the Sacraments**; (*a*) in general, as to their nature and number (25), and the principle of their efficacy (26); (*b*) in special, of Baptism (27), and the Eucharist, with reference to the Eucharistic Presence (28, 29), Communion in both kinds (30), and the Eucharistic Sacrifice (31).

ARTICLE XIX

De Ecclesia.

(§ 1) Ecclesia Christi visibilis est cœtus fidelium, in quo verbum Dei purum praedicatur et sacramenta, quoad ea quae necessario exiguntur, juxta Christi institutum recte administrantur. (§ 2) Sicut erravit Ecclesia Hierosolymitana, Alexandrina, et Antiochena: ita et erravit Ecclesia Romana, non solum quoad agenda et cæremoniarum ritus, verum in his etiam quae credenda sunt.

Of the Church.

(§ 1) The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is preached and the sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same. (§ 2) As the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred: so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith.

(i) **Source.** — Composed by the English Reformers, 1552-3.

(ii) **Object.**—Probably polemical, and intended (*a*) to give such a definition of the visible Church as should exclude the claim of the Roman Church to be the only true Church, and, at the same time, shut out the various sects of Anabaptists: and (*b*) to deny the claim of the Roman Church to infallibility.

§ 1 offers *a definition of* **the visible Church.**

(1) The word *Church* is the customary English equivalent of the Greek Ἐκκλησία, which was naturalised in the Latin Ecclesia, but not in our own tongue. As used in the New Testament, Ecclesia once appears (*a*) in its classical sense of an assembly such as that to which, in a free Greek city, the transaction of public affairs was entrusted (Acts xix. 32, 39, 41). The Greek assemblies were called by a herald, and, consisting as they did of such only as enjoyed the rights of citizenship, were called out or elected from a larger population. Both these ideas are expressed in the word Ἐκκλησία, and have their counterpart in the Christian's calling (2 Tim. i. 9) and election (Rom. xi. 7; *cf.* 2 Pet. i. 10). There was thus a measure of fitness in the adoption of the heathen term Ecclesia to be the title of the Christian community. But, before its adoption, its associations had ceased to be exclusively, or even mainly, Greek; for it passed to the Christian Church not direct but through the Septuagint. (*b*) Ecclesia, with the Alexandrian translators of the Old Testament, was the standing, though not the invariable, equivalent of *Kahal*, 'the congregation' of Israel: which the Revised Version translates now by 'company' (Gen. xxviii. 3; xxxv. 11; xlviii. 4), now by 'assembly' (Deut. xviii. 16; Josh. viii. 35; Judg. xx. 2; xxi. 5, 8), and now by 'congregation' (Ezra ii. 64; x. 1; Neh. viii. 2; Joel ii. 16): and twice in the New Testament the word occurs in this sense (Acts vii. 38; Heb. ii. 12), where it is translated in the former passage by 'church' and in the latter by 'congregation.' Everywhere it conveys the notion (*a*) of numbers compacted into an organised body, *i.e.* of a congregation as distinct from a mere aggregation, and

(β) of the congregation of Israel, or assembly of the whole people gathered together for religious purposes. It contrasts, in the original, with *Adah*, which, for the most part, is represented in the LXX. by 'synagogue'; and, though translated in the Revised Version now by 'congregation' (Ex. xii. 3; Lev. iv. 13; x. 17; Num. i. 16; Josh. ix. 27), and now by 'company' (Num. xvi. 5; Ps. cvi. 17), signifies no more than an informal massing of individuals, and can even be used of a swarm of bees (Judg. xiv. 8) or 'a multitude of bulls' (Ps. lxviii. 30). Ecclesia was thus naturally appropriated by Our Lord as the name of His new society (Matt. xvi. 18): and that as conveying two ideas, that the Church was to be (α) an organised body, and (β) the new 'assembly of the people of God' (Judg. xx. 2). Had Ecclesia been taken over direct from its Greek usage, it would have suggested only that the Church was called out of a larger body, and not that it was intended to take the place of the Jewish theocracy as the new 'people for God's own possession' (1 Pet. ii. 9; *cf.* Acts xx. 28; Eph. i. 14). (γ) Thus in the New Testament Ecclesia became the regular designation for the new society. Sometimes it designates the Church as a whole throughout the world (Matt. xvi. 18; 1 Cor. xii. 28; and especially in Eph. *e.g.* i. 22, etc.; *cf.* Acts xx. 28): sometimes the Church in a particular place (Acts viii. 1; 1 and 2 Thess. i. 1; 1 Cor. i. 2; 2 Cor. i. 1; Rom. xvi. 1; Rev. ii. 1): and, not infrequently, a particular congregation accustomed to meet in somebody's house (1 Cor. xvi. 19; Rom. xvi. 5; Col. iv. 15; Philem. 2): and this variety of usage is faithfully reflected in the Articles which speak of 'the Church' (Art. 20), of 'the visible Church' (Art. 19) as a whole, and again of 'every particular or national church' (Art. 34) such as 'the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch,' or 'the Church of Rome' (Art. 19). It would seem from the Gospels that the conception of the Church as a whole (Matt. xvi. 18) historically preceded that of the local church (Matt. xviii. 17). With S. Paul, 'the idea of the local church, as a unit in itself, is more prominent in the earlier Epistles: that of individual Christians forming part of

the great body of believers (the Church Catholic) is more prominent in the later.'[1] But we cannot conclude from this that the use of Ecclesia for the local church necessarily came first in order of time: nor that the conception of the Church as a whole is not logically prior to that of the different churches, or of its individual members who are spoken of as 'added to' the Church (Acts ii. 47). In order of thought the plan of a building precedes its parts, though in order of time the parts precede the whole. Our Lord, as the architect of His Church, constituted it in effect when, in order to describe it, He adopted the term Ecclesia with all its Old Testament antecedents. S. Paul, 'as a wise masterbuilder' (1 Cor. iii. 10), would naturally be pre-occupied with the parts until the entire building rose before him in its ideal proportions, as at length it does in the Epistle to the Ephesians.

(2) The Church, so planned by Our Lord, was of necessity **the visible Church**: for it inherited the name, and was to step into the place, of the old theocracy.

(*a*) The foreign reformers, who had but an inadequate sense of the obligation of Church unity, endeavoured to justify their separation from the historic Church by setting up a doctrine of *the Invisible Church*, which consisted of true believers known only to God. As if with an eye merely to the Greek associations of Ecclesia, they spoke of a Church of the elect: and, decrying all organisation as mere externalism, they affected to regard membership in any or no ecclesiastical unity as indifferent by the side of membership in the Invisible Church. S. Augustine had, indeed, opened up an ulterior distinction between the *corpus Christi verum* and the *corpus Christi mixtum*.[2] He made an 'interior' Church of those only who were predestined to adhere permanently or 'perseveringly' to their Lord.[3] But, for all this, he never lost sight of the visible Church as a Divine institution, nor set up the 'interior' Church as a rival to the actual, of which it was but a subdivision. This antagonism was

[1] Sanday and Headlam, on the *Romans*, p. 15.
[2] *De Doctrina Christiana*, iii. 32.
[3] Bright, *Lessons, etc.*, p. 281.

first set up by Wyclif (*d.* 1387), who defined the Church as 'the congregation of all the predestinate,' and contrasted it with the corrupt Church of his day. Wyclif's definition was taken up by Hus (*d.* 1415), and through him the doctrine became common property with the continental reformers, though Luther was the first to embody it in the actual phrase of 'the Invisible Church' in his lectures on *the Galatians* (1516-19). Melanchthon, however, who will not hear of an invisible Church apart from the visible, had sufficient influence to keep the tenet out of the Lutheran formularies, whose definitions of the Church run on lines similar to those of Art. 19. But the Swiss were less cautious. They firmly believed that the Church is one: but by seeking its unity in the invisible Church rather than in the visible, they necessarily set up the one as a rival to the other. Their formularies now draw a distinction between the visible and the invisible Church, and speak of the true Church as invisible. In England, Swiss influences on this point made themselves felt as early as the reign of Henry VIII.: for both the Bishops' Book of 1537 and the Thirteen Articles of 1538 assert that the Church has two senses in Scripture, and means either 'the whole congregation of them that be christened and profess Christ's Gospel' or 'the number of them only which belong . . . to everlasting life.' It is only visible in the first sense: it is only one in the second. These distinctions are traceable to Zwingli, and are reproduced in the language of his English disciple Hooper. Hence their entire rejection, in the later and authorised English formularies, is no less significant than providential. Such currency as this doctrine of the Invisible Church still retains it owes to the exigencies of apology for the sects (including the new sect of unsectarianism) and not to sound learning. The notion that, for instance, 'S. Paul regarded membership of the universal Ecclesia as invisible and exclusively spiritual . . . seems . . . incompatible with any reasonable interpretation of S. Paul's words.' [1]

(*b*) *The evidence that Our Lord intended to found a*

[1] Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia*, p. 169.

visible Church appears both in (*a*) the plan of action which He adopted, and in (*β*) the language which He used to describe His work.

(*a*) *His plan* was not to scatter His teaching broadcast for men to make what they could of it, nor to set it down in a book; but to organise a society to which it should be entrusted. Thus, after He had offered Himself as Messiah to the rulers of the old theocracy at Jerusalem (John ii. 18 and iii. 1-15) and been rejected (John iv. 1), He retired to Galilee (Mark i. 14), and left Judea to itself (John iv. 3). In the Galilean ministry, He at once proceeded to gather round Him a band of disciples (Matt. iv. 18-22; Luke vi. 13), out of whom He chose twelve (Mark iii. 13; *cf.* John xv. 16) to be apostles (Luke vi. 13). Thus provided with the nucleus of His new society, His next step was to legislate for it (Matt. v.-vii.). He then trained the apostles for their future work by sending them out on temporary missions (Mark iii. 14, 15; *cf.* Luke viii. 1; Matt. x.-xi. 1), by revealing His real claims (Matt. xvi. 16) and intentions (Matt. xvi. 18) to them alone (Matt. xvi. 20), by correcting their notions of the means by which His Kingdom would be attained (Matt. xvi. 21; xvii. 22; xx. 18), and of the sort of Kingdom which it would be (Matt. xviii. 1; xx. 21; *cf.* John xviii. 36). Finally, He instituted in the two sacraments of Baptism (Matt. xxviii. 19) and the Eucharist (Matt. xxvi. 26; 1 Cor. xi. 23) rites of admission into (John iii. 5), and maintenance in (John vi. 53), the new society, which were of an essentially visible and corporate (1 Cor. x. 17) character, and entrusted the administration of them to His apostles, who also received, under the warrant of successive commissions, power to legislate for (Matt. xvi. 19; xviii. 18), absolve (John xx. 22, 23), and feed (Luke xii. 42) the Church, together with a last injunction to gather 'all the nations' into its obedience (Matt. xxviii. 19). In this work, the Apostles were to regard themselves as enjoying a mission identical with that which the Lord Himself had received from the Father (John xvii. 18; xx. 21 *a*), as acting under the escort (John xx. 21 *b*; *cf.* Matt. xxviii. 20) of His perpetual presence, and the guidance of the Spirit (John

xvi. 13); and that with a view to all their converts being 'perfected into one,' with a unity organic enough to bear a true likeness to the Unity of the Trinity, and visible enough to convince the world (John xvii. 20-23). The Gospels, then, leave no doubt that Our Lord's purpose was to found a society at once organised and visible. On turning to the Acts and the Epistles, we find that His work was immediately carried forward on these lines. There was at first but 'a multitude of persons' (Acts i. 15), though with the Apostles at their head (i. 13, 14). After the Pentecostal outpouring of the Spirit they became not merely a larger (Acts ii. 41), but an organised, body (ii. 42). There was 'one body and one Spirit' (Eph. iv. 4). Functional developments of organisation followed (Eph. iv. 11 *sqq.*) under Apostolic guidance. Thus the Apostles appointed (Acts vi. 3; xiv. 23) deacons (vi. 1-6) and elders (xi. 30; xiv. 23) as need arose; exercised discipline (v. 1-11; 1 Cor. v. 3-5); led the way in prayer and preaching (v. 42; vi. 4); presided over the administration of the sacraments (x. 48; xix. 5; 1 Cor. i. 17; Acts xx. 7); and took the chief part in legislating for the Church (xv. 22). Men were invited to have fellowship with the Church in order to have fellowship with God (1 John i. 3); if they became converts, they were admitted through the visible rite Baptism (Acts ii. 38), and regarded as having been 'added to' a body previously existing (41); so long as they remained in it 'they continued stedfastly in the Apostles' teaching and fellowship,' in the Eucharist and the public prayers (ii. 42). It is quite in accordance with this development that the Epistles frequently describe the Church under such outward figures as a body (1 Cor. xii. 12 *sqq.*), a building (iii. 9), a temple (iii. 16), a household (Gal. vi. 10), a city (Eph. ii. 19), and a kingdom (Col. i. 13). These Epistles, moreover, are addressed to definite societies (1 Thess. i. 1; Rev. ii. 1), which include bad (1 Cor. v. 1) as well as good among their members, and have both a local habitation (1 Cor. i. 2) and officers of their own (Phil. i. 1). Nothing, in short, can be clearer than that Our Lord's plan was to found a visible Church, and that Christianity everywhere presented itself under this aspect in the Apostolic age.

(β) The society thus launched into the world was spoken of by its Founder as *the Kingdom of God*. The meaning of this phrase was well understood by the Jews, as is clear from the fact that Our Lord was never at pains to explain it. He had only to announce it (Matt. iv. 17), and make it from the first (John iii. 5) the substance of His teaching (Matt. xiii. 11, 19) and that of His disciples (Matt. x. 7; Luke x. 9; *cf.* Acts xx. 25; xxviii. 31) for it to be welcomed with enthusiasm (Luke xiv. 15). The exact phrase, indeed, does not occur in the Old Testament, nor in the apocalyptic literature; but the thing itself is frequently alluded to, specially in the Book of Daniel, a book which had much influence at the time of Our Lord's ministry. There it was promised that God would 'set up a Kingdom which shall never be destroyed' (Dan. ii. 44; vii. 14; *cf.* Matt. xvi. 18), under the rule of 'one like unto a son of man' (vii. 13), and in the hands of Israel, 'the people of the saints of the Most High' (27). Jewish Messianic expectation was building on these prophecies when Our Lord appeared: and He not only adopted the tone of one declaring the accomplishment of that which His hearers hoped for (Matt. iv. 17), but employed imagery already associated with the glories of the Kingdom (Luke xiii. 28, 29; *cf.* Is. lix. 19; Mal. i. 11) to describe it. The Jews, however, expected that the Kingdom would take shape in the renewal of an empire like that of David (Mark xi. 10). So secular were their notions of it that Our Lord had to transform, before He could accept, them. Thus He refused to be a king after their own heart (John vi. 15), and in the end it was their disappointment at this refusal which led to His death. 'Pilate executed Him on the ground that His Kingdom was of this world: the Jews procured His execution precisely because it was not'[1] (*cf.* John xviii. 33-37; xix. 12-16). So we find two sides to Our Lord's teaching about the Kingdom. As opposed to current expectation, He laid stress on its spiritual and moral character. The Jews thought it would be a kingdom of the material order (Matt. xx. 21). He taught that

[1] *Ecce Homo*, p. 27 (ed. 20).

it would be for 'the poor in spirit' (Matt. v. 3), and described it as the highest moral good (Matt. vi. 33). They thought that it was still to come (Luke xix. 11; xxiii. 42). He said that the final stage was yet in the future (Matt. vi. 10; Luke xxii. 18); but that it was actually among[1] them (Luke xvii. 21), suffering violence (Matt. xi. 12); for He Himself had brought it (Luke xi. 20). They believed that it was a perquisite of their nation, to which they had an hereditary right. He assured them that it was His Kingdom (Matt. xiii. 41); that it would be taken from them (Matt. xxi. 43); and that the conditions of entry into it were not Jewish birth, but a New Birth (John iii. 5) and conversion (Matt. xviii. 3). In the Sermon on the Mount He described the character of its citizens (Matt. v.-vii.), and He devoted the parables of the Kingdom to insist now on its mixed and outward aspect (Matt. xiii. 1-32, 47-50), now on its hidden life (33, 45, 46). At last He was justified in identifying the Kingdom, so purified in idea, with His Church (Matt. xvi. 18, 19). It was to be a visible society 'in,' but 'not of, this world'; not a Kingdom of heaven in the sense that its seat was solely there, but in the sense that it was from heaven and 'not from hence' (John xviii. 36), and its character heavenly.

Attempts are current to obscure the outward aspect of the Kingdom of heaven, and to question its identification with the Church. For this purpose the genuineness of Matt. xvi. 18, 19 is questioned, though without reason: and stress is laid on the fact that, in the Epistles, the Kingdom of God appears only on its inward side[2] (Rom. xiv. 17) or as a thing to be attained in the future (1 Cor. xv. 50). It is then added that the Church is merely the community of believers looked at as an institution; while the Kingdom of heaven, which Our Lord made the kernel of the Gospel, is Christianity in its essence and spirit. Undoubtedly, the Kingdom of God stands for the whole sphere of the Divine Sovereignty, and is used sometimes for God's rule over the world (Ps. xxii.

[1] 'In the midst of you' (marg.). His questioners were Pharisees, and it was not 'within' *them*.

[2] But *cf.* Col. i. 12.

28) or in men's hearts and wills (Ps. cxlv. 11), sometimes of His ultimate triumph (Matt. xxv. 34). It is therefore a larger conception than that of the Church: but the Church is the present manifestation of the Kingdom, and is so far identical with it. This identification, moreover, is not confined to one passage in the Gospel (Matt. xvi. 18, 19): for when S. Peter asked a question about forgiveness arising out of the precept upon Church discipline (Matt. xviii. 15-17), he was immediately answered with a parable about the Kingdom of heaven (xviii. 23-35). On the other hand, the ideal and spiritual aspect of the Church appears in the Epistles (1 Cor. iii. 16, 17), and is exactly that which is elaborated in the Epistle to the Ephesians side by side with its corporate organisation. Certainly the Christian community is usually spoken of in the Gospels as the Kingdom of God and in the Epistles as the Church: but there is no reason to suppose that the Apostles lapsed from Our Lord's spiritual idea of the Kingdom and discarded it for an inferior and materialised one when they spoke of the Church instead. Both Church and Kingdom have a double aspect, each having its organised life and its inward principles. But there is a solid reason for the substitution of 'Church' for 'Kingdom' as the usual name for the Christian community in Apostolic times. Ecclesia, like Logos, was a word which had a meaning for the Greek as well as for the Jew. To the Gentile as to Pilate (John xviii. 33-8) the name Kingdom of God would convey little or nothing. The Apostles, having the mind of Christ, were not at pains to quote Him. They boldly conveyed His teaching by using the word which their hearers would best understand.

The Gospels then, in what they tell us alike of Our Lord's plan and of the title which He used to describe His Church, tell us that He meant it to be *the visible Church.*

(3) **The visible Church** is further described as **a congregation of faithful men.** *Congregation,* as we have seen, is here used not in its modern sense of a number of Christians assembled for worship in a particular place, but in its Scriptural sense of the whole people of God: and again, of the whole as an organised body, not a mere

aggregation. The Church is further limited as a body of *faithful men*, but nothing is implied as to the character of their faith. To make the possession of a lively faith the test of Church membership would be to make havoc of the visibility of the Church, and to read into the later part of its definition as here given what is contradictory of the first. 'Faithful men,' or 'the faithful,' are such as have received and profess the faith, whether good or bad. In Art. 26 it is stated that 'in the visible Church the evil be ever mingled with the good.' If, for all its mixed character, 'the visible Church' is yet defined as 'a congregation of faithful men,' it is obvious that 'faithful' can mean no more than such as have received the faith in Baptism (Mark xvi. 16). The parables of the Wheat and the Tares (Matt. xiii. 24–30), the Draw Net (47, 48), and the Marriage Feast (xxii. 2-14) are enough to show that of such was the Church in Our Lord's intention. It was to be a school for sinners, and not a museum of saints.

(4) The definition concludes with *the notes of the Church.*

(*a*) The first is that in it **the pure Word of God is preached.** That the Church was to be a dogmatic institution is clear from Our Lord's last commands to the Apostles. They were to 'make disciples of all the nations,' not only 'baptizing them,' but 'teaching them to observe all things' which He had commanded (Matt. xxviii. 19). So their earliest converts 'continued stedfastly in the Apostles' teaching' as well as in their 'fellowship' (Acts ii. 42): while they themselves went out to 'preach the Gospel' (1 Cor. i. 17), and enjoined it as a last duty upon their successors to 'preach the Word' (2 Tim. iv. 2), and 'hold the pattern of sound words' (2 Tim. i. 13). Their writings everywhere imply that a definite body of teaching was committed to the Church (2 Thess. ii. 13-15; 1 Tim. vi. 20, 21; 2 Tim. i. 12-14), and the Church committed to the teaching (Rom. vi. 17): and this, as we have seen, is what is meant by the Word of God or the Gospel Message.[1] For us, it

[1] See vol. i. p. 112.

is preserved in the Creed: and where the Church delivers the Creed, there *the pure Word of God is preached*, and the first note of the Church satisfied.

(*b*) A second note is that in it **the sacraments be duly ministered, according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.** The Church is the home not only of truth but of grace. Our Lord accordingly instituted the two 'Sacraments of the Gospel,'[1] both of which were to be used until His coming again (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20; 1 Cor. xi. 26; *cf.* Luke xii. 42, 43). Stedfastness, therefore, in sacraments and sacramental worship (Acts ii. 42; xx. 7; Heb. x. 19-25) was regarded as equally necessary with stedfastness in doctrine. For the due administration of the sacraments the requisites are a right *Matter* and a right *Form*; the 'matter' of Baptism being water, and of the Eucharist bread and wine, the 'form' being in Baptism the use of the Threefold Name, and in the Eucharist the recitation of the words of consecration. In their requirement, however, of a duly ordained *Minister* the two sacraments are not on a par. Lay baptism is allowed, in case of need, because there are indications in Scripture that the act of baptizing was sometimes delegated to others by the Apostles, even when to all appearance no other ordained person was present beside themselves (Acts x. 48; *cf.* Acts xix. 5, 6, and 1 Cor. i. 14-17). But for a valid Eucharist, a duly ordained minister is also one of *those things of necessity requisite to the same.*

(*c*) A third note is only implicitly stated in the Article. The sacraments cannot be **duly ministered** without 'the right use of ecclesiastical discipline.'[2] The Church received from Our Lord 'the authority of the keys to excommunicate notorious sinners, and to absolve them which are truly penitent'[2] (Matt. xvi. 19; xviii. 18; John xx. 23); and the English Ordinal recognises this third note of the Church when it requires every priest 'so to minister the Doctrine and Sacraments and the Discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded.'

[1] *Cf.* Art. 25.

[2] Homily for Whitsunday, part 2. Cf. *The Homilies*, p. 462 (ed. Oxford, 1859).

§ 2, while it is not concerned to charge the Church of Rome with apostasy or heresy, denies her claim to infallibility by observing that, as a mere matter of history, **as the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred, so also the Church of Rome hath erred.** Those Eastern Churches all compromised their orthodoxy for a time during the Arian controversy. The Church of Rome similarly erred when in 358 Liberius signed an Arianising creed; when in 417 Zosimus declared Pelagius a man 'of entirely sound faith'; or again, in 634 when Honorius supported Monothelitism. The errors of the Church of Rome have thus embraced not only errors of **living**, as in the corrupt moral tone of Western Christendom at the end of the Middle Ages, for which the Court of Rome was mainly responsible; nor only **manner of ceremonies** such as the denial of the Chalice to the laity or the superstitious use of relics and images; they have extended to **matters of faith.** As a matter of fact the Roman Church has erred, like other churches. It follows that she is no more infallible than they.

ARTICLE XX

De Ecclesiae Auctoritate.	Of the Authority of the Church.
Habet Ecclesia ritus statuendi jus et in fidei controversiis auctoritatem; quamvis Ecclesiae non licet quicquam instituere quod verbo Dei scripto adversetur, neque unum Scripturae locum sic exponere potest, ut alteri contradicat. Quare licet Ecclesia sit divinorum librorum testis et conservatrix; attamen, ut adversus eos nihil decernere, ita praeter illos nihil credendum de necessitate salutis debet obtrudere.	The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies and authority in controversies of faith; and yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything contrary to God's word written, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the Church be a witness and a keeper of Holy Writ: yet, as it ought not to decree anything against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce anything to be believed for necessity of salvation.

(i) **Source.**—Composed by the English Reformers, 1552-3, with the exception of the first clause, in **thick type**, which was added in 1563 from the Confession of Würtemberg. There has been some doubt as to the authority of this clause (1). It is *not found* in (*a*) the Latin MS. of the Articles which received the signatures of the bishops on January 29, 1563; nor in (*b*) an English 'minute' of the Articles dated January 31, 1563, and now preserved among the Elizabethan State Papers; nor in (*c*) the English edition printed by Jugge and Cawood in 1563, which was the edition referred to by 13 Eliz. c. 12. But the value of this evidence rests on the

assumption that these copies present us with the Articles as finally authorised. On the other hand, (2) the clause *is found* in (*a*) an early but undated Latin draft of the Articles preserved among the Elizabethan State Papers, where it was inserted, in the same hand, after the draft itself was made; and in (*b*) the earliest Latin edition, which was published by Wolf the Queen's printer, and contains her imprimatur. It is possible that the clause was added by the Lower House of Convocation after the Bishops had signed their final draft: but it is more probable that it was added at the bidding of the Queen. In either case the clause was deficient in full synodical authority. This was made good in 1571: and when Archbishop Laud was charged, at his trial, with having added the clause himself, he was able to produce a transcript of the records of Convocation, attested by a notary public, containing the words in question.

(ii) **Object.**—To give a clear and balanced statement of the authority of the Church in view of attempts made by some to minimise, and by others to exaggerate, it. The Anabaptists denied it altogether, and were sufficiently met by the claim of the Church to 'expound' Scripture which underlay the Article as it stood in 1553. The additional clause prefixed in 1563 was wanted in view of the Puritan claim, then rising into prominence, that the Church had no power to enforce rites or ceremonies other than those for which explicit sanction might be found in Scripture. This was the familiar position of the Swiss reformers, who held that the Bible and the Bible only is the rule both of faith and practice: and the Article repudiates it, as Luther did. On the other hand, it equally repudiates the position to which the Roman Church had committed herself in 1546,[1] that in doctrine the Church is not limited by what is contained in Scripture or may be proved thereby.

(iii) **Explanation.**—Under the general subject of *the authority of the Church and its limitations*, the Article deals with three points:—(1) The *legislative* power of the Church. The ambiguity of the word 'Church' makes it

[1] *Conc. Trid.* Sess. iv.

a little uncertain whether the Article refers to the authority of the universal Church or of particular Churches. The statement that **the Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies** would be true of the Church as a whole; for the Council of Nicaea, in 325, fixed the time for keeping Easter. But in 1563, when the statement was first prefixed to the Article, the opposition was to the exercise of such power by the national Church. Probably, therefore, 'Church' is used in the more restricted sense: and the clause thus merely anticipates the fuller statement of the last clause of Art. 34, also added in 1563, to the effect that 'every particular or national church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying.' As a matter of fact, such changes have usually been made on the authority of local Churches. The earliest liturgies are those belonging to particular Churches: and it is only the greater influence of some particular Church that has led to the growth of the later uniformity in rites and ceremonies. Thus the importance of the Church of Constantinople has led to the adoption of her liturgies of S. Basil and S. Chrysostom throughout the orthodox East; while the unique position of the Roman See in the West has resulted in the abandonment of the Mozarabic and Gallican rites in favour of the liturgy of the local Roman Church. In the sixteenth century the English Church reverted to the principle that, as a local *Church*, she *hath power to decree rites or ceremonies* for herself. A *rite* is the 'order'[1] or 'form' of service, as expressed in words, for any particular purpose, *e.g.* 'The Order for Morning Prayer,' or 'The Form of solemnization of Matrimony.' Such rites the Church of England has not hesitated to modify whether by way of omission, re-arrangement, or addition. Thus, at the last revision of the Prayer Book in 1662, she omitted explicit prayer for the departed; retained that sequence in the parts of the Eucharistic rite which was first adopted in 1552; and prefixed to the

[1] In Canon 23 of 1604 '*ritus*' is translated 'order.'

Order of Confirmation an additional rite for the renewal of the baptismal vows. In dealing with *ceremonies*, which are the gestures or acts[1] accompanying the rite, she has exercised the same discretion ; retaining in use kneeling at the Communion, the sign of the Cross at Baptism, and the ring at Marriage, though all were ceremonies once sharply contested ; and abandoning others whether in the interests of simplification or of edification (*cf.* 'Of Ceremonies' in the Prayer Book).

But the Church claims this power only under *limitations* :—(*a*) *In principle*, **it is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything that is contrary to God's word written** : and again, **it ought not to decree anything against the same.** Thus, on the ground that 'both the parts of the Lord's sacrament, by Christ's ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian men alike,' Art. 30 condemns the denial of the Chalice to the laity, *i.e.* not as a doctrinal, but as a disciplinary, error. But short of this, where Scripture is silent about rites and ceremonies, it need not be consulted. To hold, as the Puritans held, that every rite and ceremony must have express warrant in Holy Writ, is to misconceive its purpose. Scripture is 'profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness' (2 Tim. iii. 16 ; *cf.* Rom. xv. 4). It is the supreme authority in matters doctrinal and moral, but not in matters disciplinary. On the contrary, questions of practice were left, as the Scriptures themselves testify, to be settled by the authority of the Church. Thus the Jewish Church added the observance of the Feasts of Purim and of the Dedication (John x. 22) to the round of feasts divinely ordained (Deut. xvi. 1-17) ; and Our Lord not only sanctioned its claim by His presence at the Feast of the Dedication, but recognised in the Jewish hierarchy an authority equal to that of Moses for such purposes (Matt. xxiii. 2, 3) and in its minor ceremonial precepts an obligation, secondary indeed, but still real (Matt. xxiii. 23). When the Christian Church was set up, similar powers were

[1] Canon 18 speaks of kneeling, standing, and bowing as 'outward ceremonies and gestures.'

exercised by its leaders. In the absence of express precept, it is difficult to attribute the substitution of Sunday for the Sabbath to any authority short of Apostolic; which must also be held responsible for the connection of the Eucharist with the earliest hours of 'the first day of the week' (Acts xx. 7). At any rate, this is the authority which regulated the conduct of worship. Thus, S. Paul orders that men should pray with head uncovered (1 Cor. xi. 4) and hands uplifted (1 Tim. ii. 8); that women should be veiled (1 Cor. xi. 5), and be in silence (1 Cor. xiv. 34; 1 Tim. ii. 12); that the prophets should exercise their gift in turn (1 Cor. xiv. 29 *sqq.*). Details, apparently of direction for celebrating the Eucharist, he reserves till he come (1 Cor. xi. 34). Meanwhile he lays down general principles for the conduct of worship. It is to have an eye first to edification (1 Cor. xiv. 26) and then to decency and order (1 Cor. xiv. 40), and where doubts arise, they are to be settled by appeal to the 'custom' delivered by Apostles (1 Cor. xi. 2) or prevalent among 'the churches of God' (xi. 16). It is abundantly clear then that powers of regulating rites and ceremonies are assigned, in Scripture, to the Church: and later history shows that they have been freely exercised by local churches.

(β) *In practice* the English Church is further limited, in legislating upon rites and ceremonies for herself, by the existing conditions of Establishment. When in 1532 she permitted the Crown to rob her synods of the right of meeting, debating, and legislating for her needs at their own pleasure,[1] she lost all freedom of self-government; and when she allowed herself, as in the successive Acts of Uniformity, to accept from Parliament coercive powers for the enforcement of the Prayer Book, she bartered away her liberty of reviewing it without the consent of the civil power, then but not now necessarily Christian. Hence deadlocks have arisen. But in theory it is still to the Church and not to the civil authority, whether Crown or

[1] By the 'Submission of the Clergy,' afterwards incorporated in 25 Henry VIII. c. 19 (1534).

Parliament, that such power to decree rites or ceremonies belongs. As in former days, 'When any cause of the law divine happened to come in question, or of spiritual learning, then it was declared, interpreted, and showed by that part of the . . . body politic, called the spiritualty, now being usually called the English Church, which . . . is . . . sufficient and meet of itself . . . to administer all such offices and duties as to their rooms spiritual doth appertain':[1] so now, 'If any difference arise about the external policy, concerning the Injunctions, Canons, and other Constitutions whatsoever thereto belonging, the Clergy in their Convocation is to order and settle them, having first obtained leave under Our Broad Seal so to do: and We approving their said Ordinances and Constitutions; providing that none be made contrary to the laws and customs of the land.'[2]

(2) The *judicial* power of the Church. **The Church . . . hath authority in controversies of faith.** (*a*) The *nature* of this authority is judicial. It is an authority to **expound.** In a civilised state, the legislature makes the laws, but it is the office of the judge to interpret them: and while the legislature may make new laws, the powers of the judicial bench are confined to the interpreting of laws already in existence. It is so with the Church. She possesses a less absolute authority in questions of doctrine than of discipline. For, while she 'hath power to decree rites or ceremonies,' she only 'hath authority in controversies of faith' to the extent of expounding what revelation means. For example, the Council of Nicaea had no hesitation in making a new regulation for the time of keeping Easter: but, in dealing with Arianism, it went no further than to declare the sense of Scripture as to Our Lord's Divinity. There was indeed a development; but it was an explanatory, not an accretive, development: not an addition to the substance of the faith such as might proceed from a lawgiver, but an exposition of its contents such as is proper to a judge. (*b*) The *Scriptural warrant* for the assumption by the

[1] 24 Henry VIII. c. 12.
[2] His Majesty's Declaration, prefixed to the Articles.

Church of such an 'authority in controversies of faith' is found in Our Lord's grant to the Apostles of the power to 'bind' and 'loose,' *i.e.* prohibit or permit by declaring a thing lawful or unlawful after the manner of a judge (Matt. xvi. 19; xviii. 18), to feed with discrimination (Luke xii. 42), and to teach (Matt. xxviii. 19); again, in Apostolic practice, as when at the Council of Jerusalem a doctrinal question involving the Catholicity of the Church was decided by 'the Apostles and the elders with the whole Church' (Acts xv. 22); and also in the language of S. Paul. He bids the elders of Ephesus 'to feed the Church of God' and guard it against false teachers (Acts xx. 28-30). He urges Timothy to 'guard the deposit' (1 Tim. vi. 20), and the elders under Titus to 'hold to the faithful word which is according to the teaching' (Tit. i. 9). Here he assumes that Christian teachers are responsible for judging between truth and falsehood;[1] and his language is only intelligible on the supposition that he regarded them as the official interpreters of the mind of the Church, which he describes as 'the pillar and ground of the truth' (1 Tim. iii. 15). But (*c*) like all judicial authority this right of the Church to discriminate and decide has its *limitations*. Thus it belongs to the Church as a whole. Only to the Apostles as a body is the presence of Christ (Matt. xxviii. 20) and the guidance of the Holy Spirit (John xiv. 26; xvi. 13) promised: just as indefectibility is assured only to the whole Church (Matt. xvi. 18). It is true that local churches have taken upon themselves to define doctrine: but usually under some necessity, as of checking local error or of making provisional arrangements where circumstances rendered a final settlement by the whole Church unattainable. Thus Montanism was condemned by Asiatic Synods in the second century; Pelagianism, on its appearance in Africa, by the Synod of Carthage in 412; Anabaptism by the English Convocation of 1536. Where such local synods received more than local weight, it was in proportion to the extent of their acceptance in later times. Thus the Synod of Orange, which

[1] *Cf.* 2 Tim. ii. 15.

condemned Semi-Pelagianism in 529, though only a little Gallican Council, earned the respect and gratitude of the entire West; while the Council of Constantinople, which in 381 put Apollinarianism and Macedonianism under its ban, eventually came to be recognised as the second Œcumenical Council. Their decisions were for a long time of local or temporary authority. Similarly the theologians of the English Reformation repeatedly affirmed that their doctrinal formularies were in no sense final but temporary expedients, awaiting the confirmation of a free Council representative of the whole Church. But even were 'authority in controversies of faith' exercised by the whole Church, it would still be under the further limitation that no decision would be binding if it either contravened the terms, or added to the substance, of Holy Scripture. **The Church may not so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another . . . so besides the same ought it not to enforce anything to be believed for necessity of salvation.** But this has already been dealt with under Art. 6.[1]

(3) What then is *the relation of the Church to the Scriptures?* **The Church** is described as **a witness and a keeper of Holy Writ.** (*a*) As a *witness*, her chief function is to testify what books are to be regarded as Scripture, *i.e.* what is Scripture, as also to expound what Scripture means. (*b*) As a *keeper*, she is, like the Jewish Church, 'entrusted with the oracles of God' (Rom. iii. 2). She is not the mistress but the steward of Scripture. Her duty is not to reveal truth, but to guard the truth as revealed (Jude 3). As against the Roman position, she is not the oracle of truth; nor are we to look for any such institution as would relieve us of the mental and moral discipline involved in the obligation to search for truth in the spiritual as in the scientific region. On the other hand, as against the Protestant claim that every man is to discover the truth in Scripture for himself, the Article teaches that not the individual but the Church is the keeper of Holy Writ. The Scriptures themselves bear witness to their proper function. Both Gospels and

[1] Vol. i. pp. 95 *sqq.*

Epistles were addressed to men already instructed in the faith (Luke i. 4 ; 2 Thess. ii. 15 ; iii. 6 ; 1 Cor. xv. 1-4 ; Heb. v. 12), and were never intended either to take the place of a teacher, or to serve as a mine out of which each man was to quarry the truth for himself. The Church is the teacher, the Scriptures are the test, of truth. The Ethiopian eunuch was obliged to allow that he was but half equipped for arriving at the truth by his possession of the Scriptures : but when the representative of the 'teaching Church' expounded them in the person of Philip, he speedily attained it and was baptized (Acts viii. 27-38). Everywhere the Apostles follow the same method. They teach first : and prove, or bid men prove for themselves, by appeal to the Scriptures afterwards (Acts ii. 14-36 ; xiii. 16-42 ; xvii. 2, 3, and 11).

ARTICLE XXI

De auctoritate Conciliorum Generalium.

(§ 1) Generalia Concilia sine jussu et voluntate principum congregari non possunt. (§ 2) Et ubi convenerint, quia ex hominibus constant, qui non omnes Spiritu et verbo Dei reguntur, et errare possunt, et interdum errarunt, etiam in his quae ad normam pietatis pertinent. (§ 3) Ideoque quae ab illis constituuntur, ut ad salutem necessaria, neque robur habent neque auctoritatem nisi ostendi possint e sacris literis esse desumpta.

Of the authority of General Councils.

(§ 1) General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes. (§ 2) And when they be gathered together, forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and word of God, they may err and sometime have erred, even in things pertaining unto God. (§ 3) Wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to salvation have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of Holy Scripture.

(i) **Source.**—Composed by the English Reformers, 1552-3.

(ii) **Object.**—Art. 21, standing as it does between one that treats 'Of the Authority of the Church,' and another that repudiates certain doctrines, as 'Of Purgatory,' etc., put forward on that authority, serves as the natural sequel to the one and the necessary introduction to the other. The authority of the Church, as the position of the Article implies, is normally expressed through General Councils; but, as its text goes on to affirm, the doctrines sanctioned by Councils claiming to be General cannot be accepted unless brought to the test of Holy Scripture. There is thus no intention to disparage the authority of such Councils as were really General: a

point which is further established by the structure and the historical affinities of the Article. As with other Articles,[1] its main statement is reserved for its final clause, which simply affirms that, in matters doctrinal, a council has no function beyond that of declaring the sense of Holy Scripture: and again, the *Reformatio Legum*, which proceeded from the same hands as the Articles under Edward VI., professes that we reverently accept the four great Œcumenical Councils, and defer to the decisions of many later synods. There was, however, a special object in defining the degree of this deference at the time. A council, claiming to be Œcumenical, was sitting at Trent: and the English Divines, by pointing out that it was merely an assembly summoned by the Pope and confined to bishops of the Papal obedience, *i.e.* neither free nor representative, rid themselves by anticipation of any responsibility to it.

(iii) **Explanation.**—The Article makes three statements as to § 1 *the right of convening*, § 2 *the fallibility of*, and § 3 *the authority of, General Councils.*

§ 1 affirms that *the right of convening* **General Councils** belongs to the civil power. **They may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes.** This was certainly the authority by which the six councils, generally accepted as Œcumenical, were assembled. The Council of Nicaea in 325 was summoned by the Emperor Constantine: and even the plan of such a gathering was probably his own. The Council of Constantinople in 381 was convened by Theodosius I. to deal with the errors of Macedonius. The Council of Ephesus, which met in 431 to condemn the Nestorian heresy, was called together by his grandson Theodosius II. The Council of Chalcedon, assembled in 451 to put down Eutychianism, at the request of Pope Leo the Great addressed to the Emperor Marcian, who formally convened it. In 553 the second Council of Constantinople was summoned by Justinian, in the course of the Monophysite controversy: and in 680 the third Council of Constantinople met at the bidding of the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus, and

[1] *Cf.* the structure of Arts. 4, 7, 10, 11, 15, 16, 20, 31, 32, 36.

condemned Monothelitism. Thus every Council, which can claim recognition as Œcumenical, was 'gathered together' at 'the commandment and will of princes.' Upon the decadence of the Roman power in the West, the Pope became the legatee of the imperial right of summoning councils: but, when he also came to be regarded as the successor of S. Peter and spiritual head of the whole Church, his right acquired additional sanction on that ground. At length, however, the decline of the Papacy led men to call in question its sovereign claims: and when, with the growth of the great nations of Western Europe into sovereign states, imperial authority was exercised by each monarch for himself, the right to have a voice in the summoning of Councils was at once claimed for the civil power as part of it. Probably no more than this was in the mind of the framers of Art. 21: for, in the previous reign, the Convocation of Canterbury had expressed itself to this effect: 'We think that neither the bishop of Rome nor any one prince . . . may, by his own authority, . . . summon any general council, without the express consent . . . of the residue of Christian princes, and especially such as have within their own realms and seignories *imperium merum*, that is to say, of such as have the . . supreme government . . over all their subjects.'[1] It is a question of precedent rather than of inherent right. In the sixteenth century the civil power, when it wished to secure itself against papal pretensions, reverted to ideals drawn from the practice of later Roman, or earlier mediæval, emperors, chief among which was the imperial right to summon Councils. Imperial authority being now, as it were, in commission, it was argued that this prerogative was in commission too. In the present age, were a General Council possible, the states of the civilised world would be more likely to act on the principle that the interests of religion were no concern of civil government. But as they have the power, and by precedent might claim the right, to intervene, it is still true, though somewhat of an academic truth, that *General Councils*

[1] Pocock's *Burnet*, vol. iv. p. 300.

may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes.

§ 2 asserts *the fallibility* of General Councils; but it 'must be understood,' as Bishop Burnet justly observed, 'of councils that pass for such.' They may err, and sometime have erred, even in things pertaining to God. Two propositions are made here, that councils, when assembled, are (1) liable to err, and (2) have actually erred.

(1) It might have been thought that God, having entrusted His Church with a revelation of supreme moment, would have taken care that a body summoned to represent the whole Church would be protected from possibility of error. But this is not so: and the mechanical theory of conciliar infallibility is of later growth. In the fourth century 'the very continuance of the Arian controversy, subsequent to the Council of Nicaea, is enough to shew that no such ideas of the finality of a General Council as are now current were then held in the Church.'[1] The language of the orthodox leaders at that time points to the same conclusion. S. Athanasius, with all his veneration for 'the great and holy synod,' maintains that it is not to be preferred before the earlier, but local, Synod of Antioch in 269, nor is that to be preferred before the Council of Nicaea; since both alike did nothing new, but fell back upon the words of those who went before them.[2] So too Pope Julius, while contending that 'a General Council ought not to be set aside by a few individuals,' declares that it is within the power of one Council to revise the decisions of another, and refers to the Council of Nicaea as having laid down this principle.[3] Accredited theologians then expressly declined to attribute to General Councils any inherent authority. In other words, they recognised that *they may err.*

(2) That they *sometime have erred* is mere matter of history. Not only were Councils, such as that of Ari-

[1] Professor Collins, on *The Authority of General Councils* (Church Historical Society Lectures, Series ii. p. 167), to whom the writer is indebted for the general treatment of this Article.

[2] *Cf.* Ath., *de Synodis*, §§ 43, 46, 47.

[3] *Cf.* Julius' letter in Ath., *Apol. c. Ar.*, §§ 22, 25.

minum in 359, which met with all the appearance of truly representative numbers, actually betrayed into making havoc of the faith, but others, lawfully called and widely attended, were repudiated by contemporaries and revised by subsequent synods. For instance, the Council which met at Ephesus in 449 to acquit Eutyches was immediately denounced by S. Leo as 'no court of justice, but a gang of robbers' (Latrocinium), and its decisions were reversed at the Council of Chalcedon, 451. The Article is thus amply justified in its statement that neither the formal convocation of a Council, nor its numbers, can ensure to it rectitude of proceedings or immunity from error. It should be noted that the statement, thus effectually grounded, was aimed, in all probability, at certain mediæval synods, which, while commonly taken for General Councils, were representative only of Latin Christendom, and were responsible for the promulgation of mere errors, such as the dogma of Transubstantiation, which was first imposed by the Lateran Council of 1215, and was afterwards re-affirmed at Trent.

§ 3 states, in conclusion, *the authority* of General Councils. **Things ordained by them as necessary to salvation have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of Holy Scripture.** This is only to re-affirm the root principle of the English Reformation, the sufficiency of Scripture in matters of faith; and the function of General Councils was never more than to declare its sense. But this is essentially the Catholic position. To S. Athanasius the merit of the Council of Nicaea is that it exactly declared the sense of Scripture. 'Divine Scripture is sufficient above all things; but if a council be needed on the point, there are the proceedings of the Fathers: for the Nicene bishops did not neglect this matter, but stated the doctrine so exactly, that persons reading their words honestly, cannot but be reminded by them of the religion towards Christ announced in the Divine Scriptures.'[1] Nor is this a function of inferior moment. At the present time Christendom is hardly conscious that there have ever been

[1] Ath., *de Synodis*, § 6.

differences as to those parts of the Faith on which General Councils were directly called upon to declare the sense of Scripture. The doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, once the most disputed and still the most mysterious, are exactly the doctrines most universally accepted. It is with points that have arisen since the days when, in the undivided Church, General Councils were possible, that controversy is now mainly concerned. It rages round the constitution of the Church, the nature of the Presence and the Sacrifice in the Eucharist, and the source and character, sacerdotal or otherwise, of the Ministerial Commission. Limited as it is by Holy Scripture, nothing testifies so eloquently to the authority of General Councils as the continuance of division without them. The Article is concerned to emphasise their limitations rather than their authority. Hence it dwells on their less favourable aspects, the passions that found scope in them, and their liability to error. But they have another side. Indefectibility was not promised to Church assemblies, nor to the Church of any one age or country, but it was promised to the Church as a whole (Matt. xvi. 18; xxviii. 20; John xiv. 26; xvi. 13). Thus, while there never was any guarantee for the inerrancy of a Council at the moment, once its decisions were received throughout the whole Church it took rank as a General Council, and its doctrine was rightly regarded as infallible. Of such, the English Church recognises 'six Councils which were allowed and received of all men.'[1]

[1] Homily against Peril of Idolatry, p. 197 (ed. Oxford, 1859).

ARTICLE XXII

De Purgatorio.	Of Purgatory.
Doctrina Romanensium (§ 1) de Purgatorio, (§ 2) de Indulgentiis, (§ 3) de veneratione et adoratione tum Imaginum tum Reliquiarum, nec non (§ 4) de Invocatione Sanctorum, res est futilis, inaniter conficta, et nullis Scripturarum testimoniis innititur; imo verbo Dei contradicit.	The Romish doctrine concerning (§ 1) Purgatory, (§ 2) Pardons, (§ 3) worshipping and adoration as well of Images as of Relics, and also (§ 4) Invocation of Saints, is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture; but rather repugnant to the word of God.

(i) **Source.**—Composed by the English Reformers, 1552-3, and unchanged since, except for the substitution in 1563 of 'the Romish doctrine' for 'the doctrine of the School authors.'

(ii) **Object.**—The effect of this change was to direct the condemnation against a type of practice and teaching current within recent memory rather than against the system of the Schoolmen whose day was past. The party with which this teaching was current was known as the 'Romanensian' or 'Romish' party, a name given to the extreme Mediævalists, and not descriptive of the Roman Church as a whole. Consequently it must not be assumed that the tenets here condemned are identical with those of the Church of Rome. The Article could not have been aimed, either in its original or in its amended form, at her authoritative teaching on the points in question; for that teaching was not laid down till the last session of the Council of Trent, December 4, 1563. But the Council, while rejecting the extravagances of current practice, retained the underlying doctrines, at least in their main outlines: and so far the Article, while not intended to

condemn the teaching of the Church of Rome, does reject it at certain points. The degree of condemnation, however, has to be examined by taking each subject on its merits.[1]

(iii) **Explanation.**—The Article deals with four topics.

§ 1. **The Romish doctrine concerning Purgatory** was of gradual growth.

(1) *In the New Testament* the intermediate state between death and the Judgment is represented as one of sleep, both for those who departed this life before the Gospel era (John xi. 11-13) and for 'the dead in Christ' (1 Thess. iv. 13-16), or Faithful Departed. But this figure, while it suggests rest (John xi. 13; Rev. xiv. 13), must not be pressed to mean that the dead are in a state of somnolent insensibility. Even the Old Testament conceptions of a future life rise above this level:[2] and the language of Our Lord forbids the notion. In the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, it is clear that, after death and before the final judgment, there is (*a*) an anticipatory separation of good and bad (Luke xvi. 22, 23, 26); next (*b*), consequent upon this, a state, for the good of 'comfort,' and for the bad of 'anguish' (25); and again (*c*), a vivid consciousness for each soul not only of its own condition but of that of others, whether departed, where it reaches to what is taking place on either side of the 'gulf' in Hades (23, 26), or still living, where, however, it is represented only as memory of the past (25, 27, 28; *cf.* Rev. vi. 9-11). It may be questioned how much we are at liberty to infer from the details of a parable: but this much, at any rate, seems to be covered by Our Lord's reply to the Sadducees 'as touching the dead, that they are raised' (Mark xii. 26). The dead, He says, are really living: 'for all live unto God' (Luke xx. 38): and our life is no life without conscious activity. The Epistles illustrate the directions of this activity. The souls of the faithful enter at death upon a condition of immediate communion with God, the prospect of which tempted S. Paul (Phil. i. 23), and gladdened the thief upon the Cross (Luke xxiii. 43).

[1] *Cf.* vol. i. p. 31. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 107.

They also (for life means progress) continue their advance toward perfection 'until the day of Jesus Christ' (Phil. i. 6; *cf.* 1 Cor. i. 8). Thus there is a real element of truth in the doctrine of purgatory, so far as it provides for a discipline, or purgation, of character in the intermediate state, and recognises (what natural religion would require) that the souls of the faithful, departing as they do in every stage of spiritual and moral growth, need a season, some more, some less, not of fresh probation indeed, which is over once for all at death (2 Cor. v. 10), but of further education for the presence of God.

(2) It is on this principle that, *with the early Christians*, prayer for the dead was an habitual practice. Natural piety and the New Testament doctrine of the intermediate state alike encourage it. As living unto God, the souls of the Faithful Departed are capable of progress, and capable therefore of being aided by our prayers. The literary remains of the first century are so scanty that actual evidence of the custom only begins with the second. But then it occurs on epitaphs such as those of the Catacombs, 'Irenaea, mayest thou live in God, A.Ω.,' and in the Liturgies, where it invariably formed part of the Great Intercession. Such prayers, however, consistently imply belief in the peace and bliss of the Faithful Departed, and lend no countenance to the notion that the destiny of any soul can be changed by prayer of ours. At the end of the Middle Ages a great perversion had taken place. Popular religion looked upon the condition of the departed Christian soul as one of pain, which could be relieved by the prayers, alms, and Masses of surviving friends. The English Reformers, convinced of the difficulty of dissociating prayer for the departed from such perversions, omitted explicit retention of it in the public services. But they expressly refrained from condemning what, apart from later accretions, they knew to be a primitive and Catholic practice. The Article, as it stands in the draft of the Forty-five Articles signed by the six Royal Chaplains in October 1552, contains an express condemnation of prayer for the dead. This was deliberately omitted by the authors of the Forty-two Articles: and prayer for

the dead was not the doctrine rejected by the English Church.

(3) But the later mediæval or *Romish doctrine concerning Purgatory* was rejected. It originates, in Western theology, with S. Augustine. Not without some hesitation, he transferred Origen's belief in the purgatorial nature of the fires of the Last Day to the period in between death and the Judgment. Gregory the Great (Pope, 590-604) erected this speculation into a certainty. 'For certain lighter sins,' he taught, 'we are to believe in a purgatorial fire before the Judgment': and he ascribed to prayers and 'the sacred oblation of the salutary Host' the power to mitigate its severities. Legend,[1] from the seventh century, lent support to the doctrine. By the ninth, it had given rise in practice to solitary Masses and superfluous altars; early in the eleventh to the institution of the Feast of All Souls; and, from the thirteenth onward, to the Chantry system. Meanwhile the Schoolmen, at the end of the twelfth century, had set the reigning system on a rational basis by elaborating the distinction between 'pain' and 'guilt':[2] the latter being an accompaniment of sin forgiven in absolution, but the former an accumulation of consequences to be worked off either in this world or in a penal purgatory. The doctrine was at last authoritatively formulated by the so-called General Council of Florence in 1439, which laid it down that 'if such as be truly penitent die in the grace of God before they have made satisfaction for their sins by worthy fruits of penance, their souls are purged after death with purgatorial punishments: and, for the relief of such pains, they may be aided by the suffrages of the faithful still living, such as the sacrifices of Masses, prayers and alms, and other works of piety.'[3] As might be expected under such a system, the dominant aspect of religion in the later Middle Ages was, with the people, either one of carelessness or else of calculation and fear. If religious, a man's chief object was to reduce the pains

[1] *Cf.* Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, iii. 19, v. 12: and Milman, *Latin Christianity*, ix. 93.
[2] See above, on Art. 14, p. 145.
[3] *Cf.* Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, p. 159.

in prospect by purchasing a store of Masses and Pardons. If irreligious, he could safely leave it to his friends to help him, by the same means, after his death; and enjoy life while he had it. With the clergy religion became equally a business. They only sold what the laity wanted to buy. These evils the Council of Trent fully admitted when in its decree touching Purgatory it deprecated the discussion of 'the more difficult and subtle questions' in 'popular discourses before the uneducated multitude'; and bade bishops prohibit those 'which tend to a certain kind of curiosity or superstition, or which savour of filthy lucre.' Nevertheless it did not condemn the root error that the state of the faithful departed is one of suffering. The Council affirmed that 'there is a Purgatory, and that the souls there detained are relieved by the suffrages of the faithful, but chiefly by the acceptable sacrifice of the altar.'[1] But the *Catechismus Romanus* goes further and describes 'the fire of Purgatory' as one 'in which the souls of the just are purified by torment for a stated time (*cruciatae expiantur*).'[2] It is unnecessary to examine further into the *Scripturalness* of such a doctrine. The passage most often alleged is 1 Cor. iii. 13-15: but it is not to the point. 'The fire' which 'shall prove each man's work of what sort it is' is spoken of as a destructive, not as a cleansing, agency: again, as having effect on every man and not only on the faithful departed; and, once more, as connected in operation not with the prolonged interval between death and the Judgment, but with the conflagration which is to accompany the moment of Our Lord's appearing at the Last Day (13; *cf.* 2 Thess. i. 7, 8; 2 Pet. iii. 10-13). At the same time, it should be remembered that it is not all doctrine of purgatory, but only this 'Romish doctrine' of a penal purgatory, that the Article rejects.

§ 2. Pardons have already come under review as Indulgences in the Article on Works of Supererogation;[3] but they have a natural place in the Article on Purgatory, because Pardons dispensed out of the Treasury of Merits

[1] Sess. xxv.
[2] Pars i. cap vi. qu. 3.
[3] Art. 14, see above, p. 144.

constituted the chief means, along with the sacrifices of Masses,[1] for shortening its pains. At the end of the Middle Ages the theory of Indulgences was so uncertain that in 1522 the Cardinals dissuaded Adrian VI. from attempting to define it; but there was no hesitation about their use. Eagerly bought by the faithful, they had a high value simply as a piece of papal finance. But the thing itself, apart from its sale, was an offence to religion. Tetzel's Indulgence, *e.g.*, assigns to the purchaser four grants or 'graces': (*a*) 'the plenary remission of all sins, . . . by which remission of sins the penalties which a man must pay in Purgatory . . . are most fully remitted'; (*b*) liberty to choose his own confessor; (*c*) a share in the spiritual wealth of the Church. For all these, some formal expression of penitence is necessary. The fourth 'grace' is (*d*) 'for souls actually in Purgatory, namely a plenary remission of all sins':[2] and for this, payment alone is necessary. Religion could not but suffer under such a system. The distinction between forgiveness of sins and the remission of the penalties due to sin is obscured in the very language in which the Indulgence is drafted. Much less was it likely to be regarded by the popular preachers of the Indulgence who advocated their wares as a good investment;[3] or by the man in the street, who believed, as the German Princes told Adrian VI. in their Hundred Grievances, that 'licence to sin with impunity is granted for money.' Moreover, even were the Indulgence not for sale, the personal element in religion disappeared where its characteristic acts were prompted by fear of punishment. The Council of Trent abolished the worst features of 'the Romish doctrine concerning Pardons,' and rendered the Pardoner, as painted by Chaucer, a person of the past.[4] But the Roman Church, in still 'enjoining the use of Indulgences' and defending them with greater subtilty, at once admits their former abuse and retains their chief offence. Whatever their defence,

[1] See below, on Art. 31, for the repudiation of Masses with this object.

[2] Gieseler, *Eccl. Hist.*, v. p. 255, n. 10.

[3] *Ib.*

[4] Sess. xxi. c. 19 (*de Reformatione*).

they are still represented as more than a remission of ecclesiastical penance imposed by the Church: and while this much, which may be called the older doctrine, of Indulgences is certainly covered by Our Lord's grant to her of the power to 'bind' and 'loose,' there is nothing in Scripture to extend her power over the soul into the other world.

§ 3. **The worshipping and adoration as well of Images as of Relics** may be taken together.

(1) **Images** had no place in the worship of the early Christians. As Jewish converts, many had no sympathy with the plastic arts. As Christians, living in close contact with heathenism, they could hardly conceive of art except as associated with the cultus of what was vile. The earliest Christian art therefore confined itself to symbolism: and even for the use of emblems on Church furniture we have no testimony before that of Tertullian (*c.* 200), who mentions 'The Good Shepherd whom thou paintest on the Chalice.'[1] An advance from symbolism to portraiture appears about the end of the third century: for the Council of Elvira, 305, forbade the painting of pictures on the walls of churches in order to guard against the representation of the objects of worship. But in the fourth century, despite occasional protests, the admission of painting became general. Statuary, which far more than painting was identified with idolatry, has left but few traces of its adoption by Christians during the first five centuries. In the East, the aversion to a 'graven image' (Ex. xx. 4) continues to this day: for the Eastern Church interprets the Second Commandment in its strict sense, and uses only painted representations of Our Lord and the Saints called Icons (εἰκών = an Image). But it was with the use of such paintings and mosaics that superstitious practices arose. In the West, Gregory the Great (*d.* 604) had to insist that 'pictures were placed in churches *only* to instruct the minds of the ignorant'; in the East, by the beginning of the eighth century, the worship of Icons, many of them supposed to be miraculous, had become such a scandal that

[1] *De Pudicitia*, c. 10.

they were destroyed by the Imperial Edict of Leo the Isaurian (716-741). His action led to the Iconoclastic Controversy of the eighth and ninth centuries: a long struggle, which finally issued in the admission not only of images but of the veneration of images by the Council of Nicaea in 787, a Council accepted both by Greeks and Latins as the seventh General Council. It decreed that images should be set up and 'treated as holy memorials, worshipped, kissed, only without that peculiar adoration (λατρεία) which is reserved for the Invisible, Incomprehensible God.'[1] The doctors of the Western Church in the Middle Ages went much further: for S. Thomas Aquinas (1224-74) allowed to images of Christ and to the Cross the same worship as to Christ Himself, *i.e.* latria.[2] This was a fatal confusion. It was worse confounded as impressed on our own countrymen in the Constitutions of Archbishop Arundel, 1408, which ordered that 'all henceforth preach up the veneration of the Cross, and of the image of the Crucifix, and other images of saints':[3] where the distinction implied by S. Thomas between the veneration due to the image of Christ and to those of the Saints is lost sight of altogether. Of the superstitions consequent upon image-worship history is eloquent. It stimulated the thirst for the miraculous by impostures such as the Rood of Boxley, and it substituted a grotesque polytheism for the pure worship of Christ: effects for which we have unimpeachable testimony in the writings of Erasmus and Sir Thomas More, the former no friend to Protestantism, and the latter a martyr for the mediæval faith. The Council of Trent, in elaborately safeguarding the 'lawful use of images,' confirms their testimony to the abuses that had existed.

[1] Milman, *Latin Christianity*, ii. p. 392. The word προσκυνεῖν, like 'worship' in old English, did not necessarily imply divine worship, and this Council compares the veneration paid to sacred pictures with that paid to the Gospels, and with the salutation given by David to Jonathan (1 Sam. xx. 41). *Cf.* Hefele, *Councils*, vi. p. 375.

[2] *Summa Theologica*, III., xxv., Arts. 3 and 4.

[3] Johnson, *Canons*, ii. p. 469.

It would be waste of time to search the Scriptures for a defence of image-worship: but it should be observed that the Second Commandment forbids the adoration of images, not their employment in religious art and as adjuncts of worship. The Jews were alive to this distinction. They set up the Cherubim over the Mercy Seat (Ex. xxv. 18) and the twelve oxen upholding the molten sea (1 Kings vii. 25) without scruple, but destroyed the Brazen Serpent when it became an object of adoration (2 Kings xviii. 4). So far, too, as the image of God in Christ is concerned, the commandment has been modified by the Incarnation. So it was on a theological question that the retention of images rightly turned in the Iconoclastic controversy, the question as to the permanent reality of Our Lord's Human Nature. If, as Catholics hold, He is very man now, then He still wears a human frame; and may be represented in art without prejudice to the spirituality of the Godhead: for now God ever exists in human form. It is, however, for the Church of each age and country to say how far this truth can be safely applied in practice without fear of superstition. In the sixteenth century the English Church took a line amply justified by her late experience, and yet not so rigid as to exclude from God's service that most powerful of all incentives to worship—the appeal to the eye.

(2) **Relics** were as dear to the first Christians as images were distasteful. Their reverent care for the dead bodies of the brethren is explained by that consecration of the material to be the instrument of the spiritual which follows from the Incarnation, as well as by their belief that the body is a 'temple of the Holy Ghost' (1 Cor. vi. 19) and so an heir of the Resurrection (Rom. viii. 11). This instinct of reverence was greatly intensified in the age of the persecutions. How could they but honour the remains of those who had played the true 'athlete'[1] in their 'agony' of witness to Christ? But it was

[1] ἀθλήτης = a combatant, and ἀγωνία = the contest, in which he strove for the victor's crown: a figure freely applied by the Christians to the martyr's triumph.

satisfied by giving the martyrs fitting burial, and meeting for worship at their tombs. Thus the Church of Smyrna, in its account of the martyrdom of S. Polycarp, 155, indignantly repudiates the insinuation that Christians can worship any but Christ. 'Him we worship, as the Son of God, but the martyrs we deservedly love, as the disciples and imitators of the Lord. . . . So we took up his bones, of more worth than precious stones and more valuable than gold, and laid them where it was fitting. There being gathered together, as we have opportunity, the Lord shall grant unto us to celebrate the birthday of His martyrdom, both for a memorial of those that have finished their contest before us and for the exercise and preparation of them that are about to enter upon it.'[1] No sentiment could be purer. But in the fourth century there was a change. An impetus was given to the appetite for relics by the Empress Helena's discovery of the Cross: and even a superstitious value began to be set on relics of martyrs and other saints, which rapidly increased, partly through the influx of half-heathen converts into the Church when the Emperors declared for Christ, but also through the attestation of their healing virtues by great doctors of the Church. Throughout the Middle Ages relic-worship prevailed. It received a further impetus from the Crusades, when the imagination of Europe was fired by the thought of the Holy Places. From that time, and specially about the fourteenth century, Western Christendom was flooded with remnants of the true Cross, limbs of the saints, and like treasures: some spurious, all 'gainful.'[2] Of the genuineness of the relics of local saints there need be no doubt. Those of S. Thomas were adored in Canterbury, and enriched the place where he lived and died. Less, but no little, profit accrued to the fortunate possessors of a phial of the Holy Blood at Hales in Shropshire, or of Our Lady's Milk at Walsingham in Norfolk. For a picture of old Church life, with its pilgrimages and relic-worship,

[1] Eus., *H. E.*, iv. 15.
[2] Homily of the Peril of Idolatry—*Homilies*, p. 236 (ed. Oxford, 1859).

which, by joining religion with travel and amusement, at least made it part of common life, the student may read Erasmus' account of his visit to Canterbury with Colet early in the sixteenth century.[1] It sounded the first note of a reaction as fervent as the devotion which it displaced. Of this reaction the Homily against Peril of Idolatry preserves the tone in full vigour. The Article merely forbids 'the worshipping and adoration of relics,' which the Council of Trent retained with words of caution against 'superstition.'[2] But Scripture does not direct the preservation of relics for purposes of veneration. The bodies of the saints were honourably buried (Acts viii. 2). Their raiment wrought cures (xix. 12); but it was not preserved for that purpose after their death: and even the grave-cloths of Our Lord were left in the tomb (Luke xxiv. 12; John xx. 5-10).

§ 4. **Invocation of Saints**, however exaggerated in 'the Romish doctrine,' (1) rests ultimately on two great truths of *Scripture*. The faithful departed are represented (*a*) by Our Lord as 'living unto God' (Luke xx. 38), so that each is in a state of consciousness and can pray; and (*b*) by S. Paul as equally 'in Christ' with ourselves (1 Thess. iv. 14, 16), so that all, being members of the same body (Heb. xii. 22, 23), have a common interest in prayer for each other. (2) These truths were felt by the *primitive Church* to justify the practice of what is sometimes distinguished as Comprecation of Saints,[3] *i.e.* the practice of asking God for the benefit of the prayers of the departed. Of its lawfulness, as of its utility, there was no question: for it differs from Invocation in this respect, that, while in Invocation the words 'Pray for us' are directly addressed to the Saints, in Comprecation the request for their prayers is addressed to God. On this point the Catechetical Lectures of S. Cyril (315-386) illustrate the teaching traditional in the Church of Jerusalem by the middle of the fourth century. 'Then

[1] Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, i. pp. 64 *sqq*.

[2] Sess. xxv.

[3] *Cf. The Church Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1899, in an article on Invocation of Saints, to which the present writer begs to acknowledge his debt.

we make mention also (*sc.* in the Eucharist) of those who have fallen asleep before us, first, of patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, that God would at their prayers and intercessions receive our supplication: then also [we pray] for the holy fathers and bishops who have fallen asleep before us, and, indeed, for all who have already fallen asleep from among us, believing that the greatest help will be gained for the souls for whom the intercession of the holy . . . oblation is offered.'[1] Here, as in the Liturgy on which S. Cyril comments, we observe a distinction already recognised between the great Saints and the general body of the faithful departed, between those whose prayer is asked for and those for whom the Holy Sacrifice is pleaded: 'not,' as says the text, after commemoration of the Blessed Virgin and the Apostles, 'that we are worthy to make mention of their blessedness, but that they also standing before Thy terrible and awful throne, may in turn make mention of our sad estate, and that we may find grace and mercy in Thy sight, O Lord, to help us in time of need.'[2] But the distinction was not universally established in the official worship of the Church of the fourth century. The Liturgy of the Nestorians prays God to 'accept this offering for all the Holy Catholic Church and for all the just and righteous fathers who have been well pleasing in Thy sight, and for all the prophets and the apostles, and for all the martyrs and confessors.'[3] The Roman Canon of the Mass, which, in the parts concerned, can be safely assumed to have remained unchanged since 400, is a monument to this day of the stage of hesitation or development at which the doctrine of the Saints departed then stood: it refrains from praying *for* those who are now accounted the Saints, but it also refrains from praying *to* them. (3) Meanwhile, *patristic* rhetoric and piety carried the distinction of greater and lesser saints to a higher degree of certainty than was found in the official worship of the Church. To ask the Saints for the benefit

[1] *Cat. Myst.*, v. 9.
[2] Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, i. p. 57.
[3] *Ib.*, p. 285.

of their prayers to God was a habit which in the East could plead the authority of S. Basil (329-379) and in the West of S. Augustine (354–430). It was the task of (4) *the Middle Ages* to justify it on theological grounds. Custom, inherited from the Fathers, restricted Invocation to canonised Saints: but, even so, the twofold difficulty arose, (*a*) How do our petitions reach the Saints? and (*b*) How, once heard, is their help afforded? In answer, it was held (*a*) that the Saints became cognisant of our requests from their vision of 'the glory of Almighty God'; and this explanation, emanating from Pope Gregory the Great (*d.* 604), became traditional with the schoolmen from Peter Lombard (*d.* 1164) to S. Thomas (*d.* 1274), and was adopted by typical post-Tridentine theologians such as Bellarmine (1542-1621). It was further affirmed (*b*) that the help to be expected of the Saints was no more than the help of their prayers. The Catechism of the Council of Trent, in teaching that to God and the Saints 'we employ two different forms of prayer: for to God we properly say, "Have mercy on us, hear us"; to a Saint, "Pray for us,"'[1] merely perpetuates the doctrine of S. Thomas. Such was the defence of the practice in mediæval theology.

Whether the Article forbids Invocation of Saints as thus limited is open to doubt. There is evidence that in the earlier English formularies of 1537 and 1543 'Invocation' was used to denote prayers for gifts of grace such as God only can give;[2] and it is Invocation of this kind, *i.e.* such forms of it as infringe the prerogatives of God, that is the real object of attack in the second part of the Homily concerning Prayer. The English formularies have indeed been deliberately denuded of all Invocation of Saints in public worship: but it is one thing to condemn a doctrine and another to dismiss practices based on it which might encourage abuse. It would appear then that the English Church has exercised a double caution. She has refrained from condemning all doctrine of Invocation of Saints. She

[1] Pars IV. c. vi. qu. 3.
[2] Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, pp. 141, 304-5.

has also put away all open practice of it. She had ample justification for both courses. On the one hand, the Reformers had before their eyes the popular saint-worship of the later Middle Ages, in which the elaborate safeguards of the Schoolmen were overlooked, and the Saints supposed to be addressed directly, and to render help which went far beyond the help of their prayers. 'We set every saint in his office,' is the testimony of Sir Thomas More to the extravagances of his own side, 'and assign him such a craft as pleaseth us: S. Loy a horse-leech, S. Ippolytus a smith, S. Apollonia a tooth-drawer, S. Syth women set to find their keys, S. Roke we appoint to see to the great sickness, and S. Sebastian with him. Some saints serve for the eye only, others for a sore breast.' This was mere paganism, the last development of the principle so emphatically repudiated at Nicaea, 325, when the Council, by its rejection of the Arian Christ as a mere demigod, condemned once for all the offering of any sort of worship to intermediate beings, no less unequivocally than such homage, whether to them (Col. ii. 18; Rev. xix. 10; xxii. 9) or to men (Acts x. 25; xiv. 13 *sqq.*), is condemned in Holy Scripture. On the other hand, short of such worship, a limited use of Invocation may be held to be left open. Even by the Council of Trent it is taught under safeguards, and only as 'good and useful,'[1] not as necessary to salvation. But before teaching it a wise and thoughtful Christian will need to be convinced that, in practice, all risk of misunderstanding is past; and that, in doctrine, there is some solid ground for believing that our petitions can reach the Saints. The warning which the whole history of the Church has bequeathed to us on the one point is no less eloquent than the inscrutable silence which Scripture maintains on the other.

[1] Sess. xxv.

ARTICLE XXIII

De vocatione Ministrorum.	Of Ministering in the Congregation.
(§ 1) Non licet cuiquam sumere sibi munus *publice praedicandi aut administrandi sacramenta* in ecclesia, *nisi* prius fuerit ad haec obeunda *legitime vocatus* et missus. (§ 2) Atque illos legitime vocatos et missos existimare debemus, qui per homines, quibus potestas vocandi ministros atque mittendi in vineam Domini publice concessa est in ecclesia, co-optati fuerint et asciti in hoc opus.	(§ 1) It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching or ministering the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. (§ 2) And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard.

(i) **Source.**—Art. 23 is derived from the Confession of Augsburg, through the medium of the Thirteen Articles. The parts of § 1 printed in *italics* are all but verbally identical in the three formularies: and the substance of § 2 is similar to the language employed in the second. But with one significant omission. In 1538, when the commission of Anglican and Lutheran divines was endeavouring to find a basis of agreement, it was necessary, since the Lutherans had abandoned Episcopacy, to take refuge in generalities upon the question, With whom lay the right to ordain? The Thirteen Articles left it with those 'to whom it belonged . . . by the Word of God and the laws and customs of each country.' In 1553, when the Article was remodelled for the use of the English Church alone, the phrase, which suggested that the constitution

of the Church might vary in different lands, was dropped. There has been no change in the Article since that time.

(ii) **Object.**—Simply to condemn 'a characteristic error of the Anabaptists, who maintained that any one believing himself to be called to the work of the ministry, was bound to exercise his functions as a preacher in defiance of all church authority.'[1] The error was but one instance of their defiant attitude to all external authority, civil or ecclesiastical, which they justified by their doctrine of 'continuous inspiration.' According to it, each individual Christian, as illuminated by 'the Spirit' which 'breatheth where it listeth' (John iii. 8 marg.), enjoys an authority that renders him independent of all outward order in Church or State. The Article is merely concerned to negative this position, so far as it applies to the Ministry; and does so by insisting on the necessity of an external call and mission. It is not concerned with (*a*) the need of an internal call, which was admitted by the Anabaptists no less than by the English Ordinal, and was, in fact, the one qualification they required; nor with (*b*) the further definition of those *who have public authority given unto them in the congregation, to call and send ministers.* The Articles of 1553 gave themselves no airs of systematic rotundity. They were supplements to earlier reformed formularies such as the Ordinals of 1550 and 1552, which are quite explicit in maintaining that this authority pertains to Bishops, as had never been questioned up to that date, and as has been the invariable rule of the English Church since.

(iii) **Explanation.**—§ 1 affirms *the need of an external call and mission.* **It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching or ministering the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same.** *Called* and *sent* refer to two different things. (1) The *call* is the summons to enter the Ministry; and is necessary, in addition to the internal call,[2] because the Minister being the organ of the

[1] Hardwick, p. 102 (ed. 1884).

[2] *Cf.* the first question addressed to Deacons in the Ordinal.

corporate action of the congregation or Church[1] in worship and discipline, must be appointed in a formal and public way. Of this principle Scripture is full. 'No man taketh the honour unto himself but when he is called of God, even as was Aaron. So Christ also glorified not Himself to be made a high priest' (Heb. v. 4, 5); but waited for the open call to come at His Baptism (Matt. iii. 16, 17); and both displayed Himself (John v. 36; viii. 42; xi. 42, etc.), and impressed upon His disciples (John xv. 16; xvii. 18; xx. 21), a strong sense of the need of such an open call. It is quite true that, under the Old Testament, God raised up prophets from time to time (Deut. xviii. 18; Amos vii. 14, 15) beside the Aaronic priesthood: and that, under the New Testament, S. Paul received his Apostolate not from men, neither through man, but through Jesus Christ (Gal. i. 1). But the extraordinary ministry of prophets and apostles was authenticated by signs externally recognisable (Deut. xviii. 21, 22; 2 Cor. xii. 12). When prophecy and miracles became rarer, then the laying on of hands, which had been used from the first whether apart from or in company with (1 Tim. iv. 14; *cf.* i. 18) miraculous attestations of a call, became the normal means of bestowing it upon all orders of the Ministry (Acts vi. 6; xiv. 23; 2 Tim. i. 6). In either case the principle of an externally attested call is asserted: and it has ever since been maintained in the Church by the use of prayer and laying on of hands as the essentials of Ordination. (2) But every Minister must be *sent* as well. Such *mission* is as necessary as the call, and is the commission *to execute the same* within a given sphere. If only the call were given, several rightly ordained persons might be found exercising their office in the same place. Mission is simply the result of authoritative arrangement (*cf.* 2 Cor. x. 13 *sqq.*; Rom. xv. 19, 20; Gal. ii. 7), based upon the general principle that 'God is not a God of confusion, but of peace' (1 Cor. xiv. 33), and that His work is to be 'done decently and in order' (40).

[1] For the identification, as in Art. 19, see pp. 162 and 170 above: and note *Ecclesia* in the Latin here.

§ 2 describes *those who are empowered to give the call.* **Those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard.** This language is vague; but, apart from the supplementary force of the Ordinal and Art. 36, there is one phrase in the Latin which gives light where the English is dark. When it is said that the clergy are to *be chosen and called* to their work, the Latin (**co-optati et asciti**) implies that their choice and call must proceed from above, *i.e.* by way of their co-option and adoption into an order through the agency of some already endowed with it. So in Scripture. The 'brethren' elected the 'seven' deacons; but it lay with the Apostles to 'appoint' them (Acts vi. 3, 6). Timothy again was approved 'with (μετὰ) the laying on of the hands of the presbytery' (1 Tim. iv. 14); but he received the gift 'through (διὰ) prophecy,' and 'through (διὰ) the laying on of the Apostle's hands' (*ib.* and 2 Tim. i. 6).

ARTICLE XXIV

De precibus publicis dicendis in lingua vulgari.	Of speaking in the Congregation in such a tongue as the people understandeth.
‡Lingua populo non intellecta publicas in Ecclesia preces peragere aut sacramenta administrare, verbo Dei et primitivae Ecclesiae consuetudine plane repugnat.‡	It is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God and the custom of the primitive Church, to have public prayer in the Church, or to minister the sacraments in a tongue not understanded of the people.

(i) **Source.**—Composed by the English Reformers, 1552-3, but rewritten in 1563.

(ii) **Object.**—As thus rewritten, the Article was probably aimed at a recent decision of the Council of Trent, which, in September 1562, anathematised those who say that 'the Mass ought only to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue.'[1] The Article of 1553 had not said as much: but only that 'it is most seemly and most agreeable to the word of God that in the congregation nothing be openly read or spoken in a tongue unknown to the people.' As if to take up the challenge, it was now recast in a stronger form. It is worth while, however, to note that where the Articles thus directly challenge the official teaching of the Roman Church, the points in dispute are points of discipline not of doctrine, such as service in the vernacular (Art. 24), communion in both kinds (Art. 30), and the marriage of the clergy (Art. 32). Where the traditional doctrines are condemned by the Articles, they are those of the Mediævalist; which are not necessarily, nor commonly, identical with the reformed theology of the Church of Rome.

[1] Sess. xxii. can. 9.

(iii) **Explanation** is hardly necessary. It is simply affirmed that the use of a **tongue not understanded of the people** is contrary to (1) **the word of God**, and (2) **the custom of the primitive Church**. (1) *In Scripture*, 'Let all things be done unto edifying' (1 Cor. xiv. 26) is, for S. Paul, the rule of Christian worship. Prophecy is accordingly to be preferred to the gift of tongues (xiv. 3); and the celebration of the Eucharist is to be governed by this principle (xiv. 16, 17). This is quite decisive: and was so regarded by (2) *the primitive Church*. The early liturgies were all in the vulgar tongue: 'Kyrie eleison,' in the Roman Mass, itself being but a relic of the time when the Roman Church was Greek and her service in Greek. There is no special sanctity about Latin. The best plea for its retention, as for that of any other dead language, lies in the danger of promoting false conceptions of Christian truth by having to express it in popular speech. But, whether in preaching or worship, the choice must remain between expressing it thus or not at all!

ARTICLE XXV

De Sacramentis.

(§ 1) *Sacramenta a Christo instituta non tantum sunt notae professionis Christianorum, sed certa quaedam potius testimonia et efficacia signa gratiae atque bonae in nos voluntatis Dei, per quae invisibiliter ipse in nobis operatur, nostramque fidem in se, non solum excitat, verum etiam confirmat.*

(§ 2) ‡ Duo a Christo Domino nostro in Evangelio instituta sunt Sacramenta, scilicet, Baptismus et Cœna Domini. ‡

(§ 3) ‡ Quinque illa vulgo nominata Sacramenta, scilicet, Confirmatio, Pœnitentia, Ordo, Matrimonium, et Extrema Unctio, pro Sacramentis Evangelicis habenda non sunt, ut quae partim a prava Apostolorum imitatione profluxerunt, partim vitae status sunt in Scripturis quidem probati, sed Sacramentorum eandem cum Baptismo et Cœna Domini rationem non habentes, ut quae signum aliquod visibile seu ceremoniam a Deo institutam non habeant. ‡

(§ 4) Sacramenta non in hoc instituta sunt a Christo ut spectarentur aut circumferrentur

Of the Sacraments.

(§ 1) Sacraments ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace and God's good will towards us, by the which He doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm, our faith in Him.

(§ 2) There are two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord.

(§ 3) Those five, commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures; but yet have not the like nature of Sacraments with Baptism and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.

(§ 4) The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be

sed ut rite illis uteremur. Et in his duntaxat qui digne percipiunt, salutarem habent effectum: qui vero indigne percipiunt, damnationem, ut inquit Paulus, sibi ipsis acquirunt.

gazed upon or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same, have they a wholesome effect or operation: but they that receive them unworthily, purchase to themselves damnation, as S. Paul saith.

(i) **Source.**—Ultimately from the Confession of Augsburg through the Thirteen Articles, but with important changes at each revision. Thus § 1 in *italics*, which stood last in 1553, was put first in 1563, and took the place of a clause from S. Augustine then dropped. In substance it is identical with Art. 9 of 1538, which, in its turn, repeats the language of 1530: but with the significant addition, that the Sacraments are **effectual signs of grace . . . by the which God doth work invisibly in us.** §§ 2, 3 between ‡ ‡ were composed in 1563. § 4 dates from 1553, but with an important omission. As it then stood, it contained a condemnation of the phrase *ex opere operato*, which, as used by the later Schoolmen, covered the comfortable notion that the Sacraments operate mechanically like charms, 'without requiring any inward impulse of good in the recipient.'[1] This was 'no godly but a very superstitious sense.' But *ex opere operato* had also been used to affirm that the Sacraments confer grace on condition of the outward action being performed, to which God has attached grace by His promise, and not simply *ex opere operantis, vel suscipientis*, as if their grace depends solely on the devotion of minister or recipient. In 1547 the Council of Trent by adopting *ex opere operato* to exclude the notion that 'faith alone in the Divine promise suffices for obtaining the grace' of the Sacraments,[2] at once cleared it of ambiguity and rendered it of permanent value. It could now be used simply to safeguard the undoubted truth that the Sacraments are 'effectual' not because of our faith but 'because of Christ's institution

[1] 'Non requiritur bonus motus interior in suscipiente' (Gabriel Biel, *d.* 1485). [2] Sess. vii. can. 8 (de Sacramentis).

and promise': [1] and in 1563 the condemnation of it was accordingly withdrawn.

(ii) **Object.**—§ 1 repudiates the Anabaptist depreciation of Sacraments. §§ 2 and 3 improve upon the mediæval theology of the Sacraments by limiting the number of 'Sacraments of the Gospel,' and by insisting on the necessity of right conditions in the recipient.

(iii) **Explanation.**—The Article deals with three subjects: (1) **Sacraments ordained of Christ**, as to § 1 their *nature*, and § 2 their *number*; (2) **Those five rites commonly called Sacraments**, § 3; and (3) the *right use of Sacraments*, § 4.

§ 1 is not concerned with Sacraments in general, but only with **Sacraments ordained of Christ**. Its definition of the *nature* of Sacraments is closely parallel to that of the Catechism, which also confines itself to Sacraments (*a*) 'ordained by Christ Himself.' Next, (*b*) both formularies regard them as signs. As 'outward and visible signs' they **be . . . badges or tokens of Christian men's profession**. This was the only sense in which they were acknowledged either by the Anabaptists, who 'will' them 'to be nothing else than outward signs of our profession and fellowship as the badges of captains be in war'; or by Zwingli, who, though not always consistent with himself in regarding them as mere signs, would never really allow that they were more. Hence the name of Sacramentaries [2] first given by Luther to him and his followers. 'Badges' or signs the Article allows that they are, but insists that they are **not only** signs: (*c*) **rather they be certain sure witnesses . . . of grace and God's good-will toward us**, as 'pledges to assure us thereof.' It was to this obsignatory function of the Sacraments, as he called it, that Calvin and his school confined their purpose. They looked upon them as seals or testimonies of the Divine grace, perhaps then and there but perhaps also independently bestowed. They denied that they could properly be said to work grace in, or confer grace on, the

[1] See vol. i. pp. 36, 44-47: and Art. 26, below.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 17, Sacramentum=signum: *cf.* S. Aug. 'sacramenta, id est, sacra signa.'—*Opera*, viii. 599 B. (ed. Ben.).

recipient. Hence, while admitting the truth in the Calvinistic definition of the Sacraments, the Article proceeds to supplement it by asserting that they are signs effecting what they signify, or (*d*) **effectual signs of grace . . . by the which God doth work invisibly in us.** Here the Article rises to the essential position of the Catholic theology of the Sacraments. With that part of the Catechism, which was added in 1604 to complete the sacramental teaching of the English Reformation on its Catholic side, it asserts that they are more than 'pledges to assure us' of 'the inward and spiritual grace given unto us.' They are 'means whereby we receive the same.' When it is added that by them God (*e*) **doth not only quicken but also strengthen and confirm our faith in Him**, the intention seems to be to apply to Baptism and the Eucharist respectively the general principle that the Sacraments are really means of grace. In Baptism we are 'quickened' by a gift of new life (John iii. 5), which is 'strengthened' within us by the Eucharist (John vi. 54).

§ 2, dealing with their *number*, says **there are two Sacraments ordained of Christ in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord.** To this statement, (1) on its *positive* side, no exception can be taken. Baptism and the Eucharist are the only rites which Our Lord is recorded in the Gospels to have instituted, by commanding their use (Matt. xxviii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25); and that as Sacraments, by Himself connecting the outward sign with the inward grace (John iii. 5; Matt. xxvi. 26, 28; Mark xiv. 22, 24). They occupy a unique position therefore as the two 'Sacraments of the Gospel,' and as alone 'generally (*i.e.* universally) necessary to salvation,' where they may be had[1] (John iii. 5; vi. 53). But the statement has its (2) *negative* aspect, brought out with more emphasis in the Catechism. 'Q. How many Sacraments hath Christ ordained in His Church? A. Two only,' etc. Yet in thus limiting the 'Sacraments ordained of Christ' to two, the Catechism and Articles place no such limit

[1] For this important qualification see the order of *The Ministration of Baptism to such as are of riper years.*

on Sacraments in general. 'Sacrament' has always had a wider, as well as a stricter, meaning. In Western theology, as the equivalent of the Greek μυστήριον,[1] it was indifferently applied, from the second century onwards, to a sacred truth or a sacred rite; 'to any mystery,' in fact, 'where more was meant than met the eye or the ear.'[2] Thus S. Augustine defines it as 'a sign of a holy thing,' and gives it a wide range of application, not only to the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Imposition of Hands, but even to Jewish ordinances. But as contrasted with the multiplicity of the latter, he insists, in terms which formed the first clause of this Article in 1553, that the Sacraments of the new dispensation are 'most few in number . . . as is Baptism and the Lord's Supper.' Their number was first fixed at seven by Peter Lombard, *d.* 1164: and this became the received teaching of the Schoolmen, and was finally adopted by the Council of Trent in 1547. 'If any one shall say that the Sacraments of the new law were not all instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, or that they are more or less than seven, . . . let him be anathema.'[3] Thus the Reformers had a double use of the word 'Sacrament' before them, the wide sense common with the Fathers and the restricted sense traditional with the Scholastics. The Henrician formularies waver as to the number of the Sacraments, owing to differences of opinion upon the definition of the word. But by 1553 the influence of S. Augustine had asserted itself: and, as a result of the definition of § 1, while Baptism and the Eucharist retained their pre-eminence as the only Sacraments of the Gospel, the other five rites took rank as Sacraments, but not 'such Sacraments as Baptism and the Communion are.'[4] The difference is simply that in their case the grace is not known to have been annexed to the sign by Christ Himself. In this connection it should be noted that the Roman Church, though maintaining that (*a*) the

[1] *Cf.* 1 Cor. ii. 7, and xiii. 2, where O. L. has 'sacramentum': and Eph. v. 32, 1 Tim. iii. 16, where Vulgate has 'sacramentum.'

[2] Trench, *On the Study of Words*, p. 104 (ed. 2).

[3] **Sess. vii. can. 1 (de Sacr.).**

[4] *The Homilies*, p. 355 (Oxford, 1859).

Sacraments are neither more nor less than seven, and that (*b*) all were instituted by Our Lord, is not committed to the position that in every case the visible sign was of His institution, and expressly repudiates the tenet that all the seven are of equal dignity.[1] The question between England and Rome is mainly one of definition: but also of differences of temperament characteristic of the two Churches in their attitude towards fact. The English Church is unwilling to allow that all were instituted of Christ, when the New Testament records as much only of two.

§ 3 intends no disparagement of **those five commonly called Sacraments** by so designating them any more than 'The Nativity of Our Lord' is slighted by being 'commonly called Christmas-Day.'[2] It simply affirms that they are **not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel**, on two grounds: (1) *positive*—**being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures.** The sentence is carelessly expressed. But its first clause would seem to refer possibly to Penance, as corrupted by mediæval accretions from the 'godly discipline' of 'the Primitive Church'[3]; but certainly to Extreme Unction, which, from being administered to the sick according to Apostolic precept (Jas. v. 14, 15) after the earlier unctions of Baptism and Confirmation came to be known as the last unction (*extrema unctio*), and afterwards, by 'a corrupt following of the Apostles,' was sometimes mistakenly reserved for administration at the point of death as an unction *in extremis*.[4] The second clause probably alludes to Orders and Matrimony, for both are 'states of life approved in the Scriptures.' But neither clause can refer to Confirmation, which is not a 'state of life' at all, and is retained by the English Church 'after the example of the Holy

[1] Conc. Trid., Sess. vii. can. 3.
[2] Rubric before Collect for Christmas Day.
[3] Commination Service.
[4] It should be noted that the mediæval English rite was faithful to the primitive idea in enjoining prayers for the sick man's recovery, and in expressly allowing the unction to be repeated.

Apostles.'[1] (2) The *negative* difference between the two *Sacraments of the Gospel* and *the five commonly called Sacraments* is that the latter **have not the like nature of Sacraments with Baptism and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.** Thus **Confirmation**, though a Sacrament with laying on of hands for its sign, and the gift of the Holy Ghost for its grace (Acts viii. 14–17; xix. 1-6), can only be traced to Apostolic origin, so that we cannot directly assert that its 'outward and visible sign' was 'ordained by Christ Himself.' **Penance** (John xx. 23) and **Orders** (21, 22) were ordained of Christ, and **Matrimony** 'adorned and beautified by His presence and first miracle that He wrought in Cana of Galilee'[2] (John ii. 1-11): but in Penance and Matrimony there is no 'sign' of Divine appointment, while in Orders the laying on of hands is, so far as we can positively assert, only of Apostolic institution (Acts vi. 6). The name **Extreme Unction** disappeared in the Prayer Book of 1549, and all Unction in that of 1552; possibly as having been misused, possibly from the idea that Jas. v. 14, 15, which treats it indeed as a sacrament or holy rite, only implied that it was to be continued so long as miraculous gifts of healing (1 Cor. xii. 9) remained in the Church.

§ 4 deals with *the use of* **the Sacraments.** (1) They **were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about.** Despite the plural, the reference is only to the Eucharist; for Baptism could not be *carried about*, nor is there any evidence that it was superstitiously *gazed upon*. The Eucharist, intended by Our Lord for Communion, was not utterly neglected by the mass of Church people as it is now; but, with the same impulse to avoid the responsibility of communicating, it was used merely as a sacrifice to attend and 'gaze upon,' or as an object of worship to 'gaze upon' and 'carry about' in Procession, especially since the greater prominence given to the feast of Corpus Christi in 1264. Such uses are not forbidden but deprecated in comparison with the primary end for which Our Lord instituted the Eucharist. There was real danger of

[1] The Order of Confirmation.
[2] The Form of Solemnisation of Matrimony.

the Sacraments being resorted to as charms. Hence it was well to state further (2) **that we should duly use them and that in such only as worthily receive the same have they a wholesome effect or operation.** They do not operate mechanically but only on condition of faith on the part of the recipient; for lack of which they **that receive them unworthily purchase to themselves damnation** [1] (1 Cor. xi. 29, R.V., judgement), **as S. Paul saith.**

[1] =condemnation.

ARTICLE XXVI

De vi institutionum divinarum, quod eam non tollat malitia Ministrorum.

(§ 1) *Quamvis in Ecclesia* visibili *bonis mali* semper *sunt admixti, atque interdum ministerio verbi et sacramentorum* administrationi *praesint; tamen cum non suo sed Christi nomine* agant, ejusque *mandato et auctoritate ministrent, illorum ministerio uti licet* cum *in verbo Dei audiendo* tum *in sacramentis percipiendis. Neque per illorum malitiam effectus* institutorum Christi tollitur *aut gratia donorum* Dei *minuitur* quoad eos qui fide et *rite* sibi oblata percipiunt, quae *propter* institutionem *Christi et promissionem* efficacia sunt, licet *per malos* administrentur.

(§ 2) Ad Ecclesiae tamen disciplinam pertinet, ut in malos ministros inquiratur, accusenturque ab his qui eorum flagitia noverint; atque tandem, justo convicti judicio, deponantur.

Of the unworthiness of the Ministers, which hinders not the effect of the Sacraments.

(§ 1) Although in the visible Church the evil be ever mingled with the good, and sometime the evil have chief authority in the ministration of the word and sacraments; yet, forasmuch as they do not the same in their own name, but in Christ's, and do minister by His commission and authority, we may use their ministry both in hearing the word of God and in the receiving of the sacraments. Neither is the effect of Christ's ordinance taken away by their wickedness, nor the grace of God's gifts diminished from such as by faith and rightly do receive the sacraments ministered unto them, which be effectual because of Christ's institution and promise, although they be ministered by evil men.

(§ 2) Nevertheless it appertaineth to the discipline of the Church that inquiry be made of evil ministers, and that they be accused by those that have knowledge of their offences; and finally, being found guilty by just judgment, be deposed.

(i) **Source.**—Derived from Art. 5 of the Thirteen Articles, words common to the two formularies being

printed in *italics* as both reproduce in part the words, and generally the substance, of the Confession of Augsburg. Unchanged since 1553.

(ii) **Object.**—To repudiate the opinion held by Anabaptists that the validity of the Sacraments is destroyed by the personal unworthiness of the Minister.

(iii) **Explanation.**—§ 1. The *principle* here set forth is of vital importance, affecting, as it does, the religious interests of all Christ's people, so long as, by His institution, the Church is not composed of the perfect but is a school for the discipline of the erring. The parables of the Wheat and the Tares (Matt. xiii. 24-30), and of the Drawnet (47-50), as also the allegory of the unfruitful branches in the Vine (John xv. 2), are inapplicable but to a **visible Church** in which **the evil be ever mingled with the good**: and Our Lord expects at His coming to find 'chaff' as well as 'wheat' on His 'threshing-floor' (Matt. iii. 12), and 'both bad and good' among His 'guests' (xxii. 10). Thus His Church is not a pure but a mixed body (2 Tim. ii. 20), nor is its Ministry perfect. There was a Judas even among the Apostles (Luke vi. 16). This being so, the faithful soul requires to be assured that it suffers no spiritual or moral loss when ministered to by evil men. Such security is found in *the principle that they are but ministers* (1 Cor. iii. 5, 6) *or stewards* (iv. 1), *not authors, of God's grace*, and **the Sacraments** not theirs but Christ's, **effectual** therefore, not according to man's merit or demerit, but **because of Christ's institution and promise.** God is responsible for the bestowal of His own grace, and He accompanies[1] (John xx. 21) the official acts of His Ministers with His own presence (Matt. xxviii. 20) whether in the ministry of the Word (Luke x. 16; John xiii. 20; 2 Cor. v. 20) or of the Sacraments (Luke xii. 42). As His acts therefore they cannot be vitiated or impaired by human unworthiness. It was on this principle that Our Lord bade men listen to the Scribes and Pharisees (Matt.

[1] In John xx. 21 the first 'send' (ἀποστέλλω) means 'despatch' as a plenipotentiary: the second 'send' (πέμπω) implies that the sender escorts the person sent. Our Lord's disciples 'receive no new commission, but carry out His.'—Westcott, *ad loc.*

xxiii. 2, 3) as sitting in Moses' seat, and allowed the ministry of Judas to be as efficacious as that of the eleven (Mark vi. 7-13): that SS. Peter and John disowned the imputation of having cured the cripple by their 'own power' (Acts iii. 12): and that S. Paul could say of the Christian Ministry, 'We have this treasure in earthen vessels that the exceeding greatness of the power may be of God, and not from ourselves' (2 Cor. iv. 7). The principle was finally established by S. Augustine, *c.* 400, in controversy with the Donatists, who, anxious, like all Puritans before or since, for a pure Church and Ministry, held that sins, or even faults, in the Minister invalidate the Sacraments which he administers. On this assumption all ministerial and sacramental acts are uncertain; for who is to know but God whether this or that Minister is 'evil' or not? When S. Augustine shewed once for all that such a position was false 'for the simple but deeply significant reason that' the Minister 'was but the organ of the ever-present and never-failing Bestower of grace, the true, though invisible, Dispenser of ordinances, "whose Divine power is always present with His Sacrament," "who Himself consecrates His Sacrament," "who is Himself the Baptizer," and, we may add, Himself the Celebrant, Confirmer, Absolver, Ordainer,'[1] he did a lasting service to religion. He vindicated that momentous principle of the Divine action which not only throws the receiver of God's Word and Sacraments with absolute confidence upon God Himself for security that in them he has access to their intended grace, but sets up a permanent criterion to distinguish between the false sacerdotalism and the true, between that which puts the Ministers and Sacraments of the Church into the place of Christ, and that which teaches that they are indeed His agents and instruments but nothing more. To this truth, as to its perversion, the great theologians of the Middle Ages[2] were as fully alive as the Article itself; but, lest the assertion that the

[1] Bright, *Lessons from the Lives of Three Great Fathers*, pp. 154, 155.

[2] *Ib.*, Appendix xviii. *Cf.* S. Thos. Aq., *Summa*, III., lxiv. 5 ad 1: and *Imitatio Christi*, iv. 5.

Sacraments are real instruments of grace should be taken to mean that they operate mechanically, the Article enters a caveat to the effect that, while **the grace of God's gifts** is not conditional upon the merit or demerit of the Minister, its assimilation is conditional upon the faith of the recipient. It is to be had only by **such as by faith and rightly do receive the Sacraments.**[1]

§ 2 only adds that, however important the principle above laid down may be to the welfare of souls, it is no less essential that the Church should guard herself against suspicion of indifference to the character of her Ministers by the maintenance of a sound **discipline** (1 Tim. v. 19, 20).

[1] *Cf.* Art. 28, § 3.

ARTICLE XXVII

De Baptismo.

(§ 1) Baptismus non est tantum professionis signum ac discriminis nota qua Christiani a non Christianis discernantur, sed etiam est signum regenerationis, per quod, tanquam per instrumentum, recte baptismum suscipientes Ecclesiae inseruntur; promissiones de remissione peccatorum atque adoptione nostra in filios Dei per Spiritum Sanctum visibiliter obsignantur; fides confirmatur, et vi divinae invocationis gratia augetur. (§ 2) ‡ Baptismus parvulorum omnino in Ecclesia retinendus est, ut qui cum Christi institutione optime congruat.‡

Of Baptism.

(§ 1) Baptism is not only a sign of profession and mark of difference whereby Christian men are discerned from other that be not christened, but is also a sign of regeneration or new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the Church; the promises of the forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God, by the Holy Ghost are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed, and grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God. (§ 2) The baptism of young children is in any wise to be retained in the Church as most agreeable with the institution of Christ.

(i) **Source.**—Composed by the English Reformers, 1552-3, and since unchanged, except for the recasting of § 2 in more emphatic language, 1563.

(ii) **Object.**—To condemn Anabaptists and others who denied that Baptism was a means of grace, and repudiated Infant Baptism altogether.

(iii) **Explanation.**—§ 1 offers *a description of* (1) *Baptism and* (2) *its effects.*

(1) **Baptism** is defined (*a*) *negatively.* **It is not only a sign of profession and mark of difference whereby Christian men are distinguished from others that be not christened.**

This was the position of Anabaptists and Zwinglians. Sacraments to them were bare signs; and Baptism, accordingly, no more than a mark to distinguish between Christian and non-Christian as Circumcision served to distinguish between Jew and Gentile. Even this is to admit, what many now forget, that no man is a Christian who is not baptized,[1] and certainly 'Baptism doth represent unto us our profession';[2] but, apart from the nature of the grace bestowed and the mode of its bestowal, the promises held out in connection with Baptism by Our Lord (Mark xvi. 16) and His Apostles (Acts ii. 38) are empty words unless it be accompanied by actual blessings. Hence the Article proceeds to the (*b*) *positive* element in the definition: **Baptism . . . is also a sign of regeneration or new birth.** As in Art. 25, *sign* must be interpreted as 'effectual sign,' and thus the whole expression will mean that in Baptism the blessing *of Regeneration* is not only signified but conveyed to the recipient through the sign. But what is *Regeneration*? As popularly used, when, *e.g.*, we speak of the regeneration of society and mean its amelioration, the word implies a *moral* change: and such a change may be part of the 'regeneration' alluded to in the first of the two passages in which the word occurs in the New Testament. (*a*) There Our Lord speaks of 'the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of His glory' (Matt. xix. 28), as S. Peter afterwards of 'seasons of refreshing' and of 'the times of restoration of all things' (Acts iii. 19-21)—all phrases descriptive of the Messianic blessedness. But this 'regeneration,' though it bring with it a moral change, is a future consummation affecting society as a whole, and so is unconnected with Baptism. But (*b*) 'regeneration' also appears as descriptive of a *spiritual* change, affecting individuals now: 'God . . . saved us, through the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he poured out upon us richly through Jesus

[1] Or 'christened.' Notice that 'Christiani' is translated first by 'Christian' and then by 'christened.'

[2] Public Baptism of Infants.

Christ' (Tit. iii. 5). Here, by the use of the aorist, by the mention of the Threefold Name and of the 'laver of regeneration' as the means of its bestowal, this change in our spiritual condition is plainly connected with Baptism; just as in Our Lord's teaching to be 'born again' is 'to be born of water and the Spirit' (John iii. 3-5). This is what is meant by Regeneration or New Birth as the special grace of Baptism: but it must be carefully distinguished both from Conversion and Renewal. As our ordinary birth is not dependent on ourselves, so our Regeneration or New Birth is God's act; whereas Conversion, or the surrender of the will to God, is, though prompted by His grace (John vi. 44), in a real and inalienable sense, ours. Again, as at birth we receive our ordinary life, so at Baptism we receive the gift of spiritual life. Regeneration thus effects a spiritual change in our condition, and that in a moment; but Conversion is a moral change, which may indeed appear in a moment as in the conversion of S. Paul (Acts ix.), but may equally be the work of a lifetime during which Christ is being formed in us (Gal. iv. 19), as we may suppose was the case with S. John. Both Regeneration and Conversion are indispensable to the true Christian (*cf.* Matt. xviii. 3, and John iii. 3-5); for as the Conversion (Acts ii. 37; xxii. 10; x. 31) of S. Peter's audience at Pentecost, of S. Paul, and of Cornelius did not preclude but led up to their baptism (Acts ii. 38; ix. 18; x. 48), so the initial grace of Regeneration bestowed on Simon Magus at his baptism (Acts viii. 13) availed him nothing, because his 'heart was not right before God' (21). But either may precede the other. S. Paul was converted before he was regenerated. The Prodigal, as we by baptism, was already a son before he 'came to himself' (Luke xv. 17) and resolved to return to his father. In the Apostolic age, as now in any heathen country, Conversion normally precedes Regeneration (Matt. xxviii. 19; Mark xvi. 16; Luke xxiv. 47): in our day and in a Christian land, Regeneration normally comes first. But both are essential, and both again require to be supplemented in the ordinary Christian life by that daily[1]

[1] *Cf.* the Order of Confirmation.

development of character which is called Renewal (*cf.* Collect for Christmas; and 2 Cor. iv. 16; Col. iii. 10; Rom. xii. 2). Baptism then is not an absolute security for a converted will or for a Christian character: but it places us within reach of new spiritual forces by effecting our *regeneration or new birth* into a new life, the life by which the Christian lives,[1] that is the risen life of Christ (Rom. vi. 3, 4; Gal. iii. 26, 27; Col. ii. 12, 13).

(2) Having thus described the cardinal gift of Baptism as 'a new birth unto righteousness,' the Article proceeds to enumerate the *effects* accompanying so great an event in the life-history of the soul as its transference (Col. i. 13) out of the merely natural into the Spiritual order. It is **a sign . . . whereby, as by an instrument,**[2] (*a*) *admission* into the Christian society is obtained, or **they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the Church** (Rom. xi. 17), and (*b*) God's **promises** to the soul of *pardon* for the past (Eph. ii. 3) and *favour* for the future, or **of the forgiveness of sin and of our adoption to be the sons of God,** are guaranteed. In three words we may say that Baptism is the Sacrament of Initiation, of Justification (as its instrumental cause on God's part, faith being its condition on ours),[3] and of Adoption. Moreover, the promises of each of these blessings **by the Holy Ghost are visibly signed and sealed,** and by no one less: for in each of its aspects Baptism is His act (1 Cor. xii. 13; Acts ii. 38; Rom. viii. 15). When it is added that by Baptism **faith is confirmed and grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God,** the reference would seem to be to the faith of the bystanders, if, as seems likely, the Article contemplates Infant Baptism as the normal mode of its ministration. It makes the effect of Baptism contingent only upon its being received 'rightly,' and omits all such conditions as that it be 'worthily and with faith'[4] received. When, then, we note the strong resemblance between the clause now under consideration and the language put into the

[1] The life which he lives would require a different Greek word.
[2] A phrase equivalent to 'effectual sign' in Art. 25.
[3] See above, p. 135.
[4] *Cf.* Art. 28, where these additional requirements are demanded from recipients of the Eucharist.

mouths of those present at a Baptism, 'We give thee humble thanks for that thou hast vouchsafed to call us to the knowledge of thy grace and faith in thee: increase this knowledge and confirm this faith in us evermore'; the presumption is that the Article intends to give a complete description of the effects of Baptism by concluding with mention of its benefit to the bystanders as well as to the child baptized. Then follows naturally § 2 on *Infant Baptism.* **The Baptism of young children is in anywise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ.** Here it is enough to say that, while it cannot be proved from Scripture that infants were baptized in the early days of the Church, and while of necessity baptism of adult converts would be the rule in the missionary stage of the Gospel, there is nothing to forbid it. On the contrary, it is certain from Our Lord's example that infants are capable of receiving Spiritual blessing. They cannot 'place a bar' to grace: and 'of such is the Kingdom of God' (Mark x. 13-16). In Apostolic language they are spoken of as 'holy' (1 Cor. vii. 14), *i.e.* admitted to the covenant, a privilege which, as not denied to Jewish infants through circumcision, cannot have been refused to the children of Christians in baptism. So the principle, if not the practice, of Infant Baptism is established in Holy Scripture. The prejudice which would now refuse it, rests upon no ground of Scripture: but either upon the denial of 'birth-sin' altogether, or more commonly upon the confusion of Regeneration with Conversion.

ARTICLE XXVIII

De Cœna Domini.

(§ 1) Cœna Domini non est tantum signum mutuae benevolentiae Christianorum inter sese, verum potius est sacramentum nostrae per mortem Christi redemptionis. Atque ideo rite digne et cum fide sumentibus, panis quem frangimus est communicatio corporis Christi: similiter poculum benedictionis est communicatio sanguinis Christi.

(§ 2) Panis et vini transubstantiatio in Eucharistia ex sacris literis probari non potest, sed apertis Scripturae verbis adversatur, sacramenti naturam evertit, et multarum superstitionum dedit occasionem.

(§ 3) Corpus Christi datur, accipitur, et manducatur in Cœna, tantum cœlesti et spirituali ratione. Medium autem quo corpus Christi accipitur et manducatur in Cœna, fides est.

(§ 4) Sacramentum Eucharistiae ex institutione Christi non servabatur, circumferebatur, elevabatur, nec adorabatur.

Of the Lord's Supper.

(§ 1) The Supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves, one to another, but rather it is a sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death: insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ, and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the blood of Christ.

(§ 2) Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of bread and wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ, but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, ‡overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament,‡ and hath given occasion to many superstitions.

(§ 3) ‡The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith.‡

(§ 4) The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.

(i) **Source.**—Composed by the English Reformers, 1552-3, Art. 28 underwent changes of the first magnitude ten years later. The formularies of Henry VIII. steadily maintained the real presence: and in 1550 Gardiner expressed himself content with the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. on the ground that 'touching the truth of the very presence of Christ's most precious body and blood in the Sacrament, there was as much spoken in that book as might be desired.' But before the book was published, Cranmer, its author, was already wavering: and in the three formularies of 1552-3, the Second Prayer Book, the Forty-two Articles, and the *Reformatio Legum*, by which he intended to complete respectively the devotional, the doctrinal, and the disciplinary settlement of the English Church, the presence of Our Lord in the Sacrament, as distinct from His presence only in the faithful recipient, was set aside. For this purpose, the third paragraph[1] of Art. 29 of 1553 contained an explicit denial of 'the real and bodily presence (as they term it) of Christ's flesh and blood in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.' But in 1563, not only was this denial expunged[2] by the Synod, and that in face of an attempt by the Primate to secure its retention, but in its place was inserted the statement of § 3, whose author has left it on record that by it he never intended to exclude 'the presence of Christ's body from the Sacrament, but only the grossness and sensibleness in the receiving thereof.'[3] The change was far from acceptable to the Puritans.[4] They saw that, technicalities apart, the question at issue was a simple one, Is the presence consequent upon Consecration or upon Communion? Is it in the Sacrament, or only in the worthy receiver? Is it real or contingent? The addition of § 3 committed the Church of England irrevocably to the former alternative: and this position received fresh emphasis in 1604 when, in the questions and answers on the Sacraments then added to the Catechism, a pregnant distinction was drawn between the component parts of Baptism and the Eucharist. In Baptism, the Catechism

[1] See Appendix.
[2] See vol. i. pp. 44, 47.
[3] *Ib.*, p. 47.
[4] *Ib.*, p. 49.

recognises two parts only, 'the outward visible sign,' and 'the inward and spiritual grace.' In the Eucharist it marks three; and by asking, first, 'What is the outward part or sign?' next, 'What is the inward part or thing signified?' and, finally, 'What are the benefits whereof we are partakers thereby?' it reaffirms the old recognition of the *signum*, the *res*, and the *virtus*, in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. Cranmer and the reformers of his day did good service in exposing mediæval errors: but where their opinions are less Catholic than those of their successors, they are of merely historical interest. In 1563 and 1604 the English Church left their Protestant negations far behind, and for the official exponents of her Eucharistic teaching, as for her representative divines, we must go, not to the Edwardian leaders who inaugurated her reformation in doctrine, but to the later and more primitive theology of those who completed it in the following age.

(ii) **Object.**—After condemning § 1 Zwinglian, and § 2 mediæval errors, to state the truth of § 3 Christ's presence in the Sacrament, and § 4 to reduce certain practices connected with the Eucharist to their proper level.

(iii) **Explanation.**—§ 1, in giving *a description of the Eucharist*, keeps close to the language of Scripture; and, by way of rejecting the Zwinglian tenets less as false than as inadequate, follows the method of Arts. 25 and 27 by proceeding first negatively and then positively. Thus (1) the Article admits with the Sacramentaries that **the Supper of the Lord is . . . a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another.** Its institution was immediately preceded by the feetwashing (John xiii. 1-11) and 'the new commandment[1] . . . that ye love one another' (34): while S. Paul argues from the common participation in the one loaf that 'we, who are many, are one body: for we all partake of the one loaf' (1 Cor. x. 17, marg.). Yet the Eucharist is **not only** thus a mere sign: **but (2) rather it is a sacrament of our**

[1] *Mandatum.* Hence 'Maundy-Thursday.'

redemption by Christ's death. In Our Lord's intention, indeed, the Eucharist was to be a memorial of Himself (Luke xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25). It recalls His Person, and not merely His work or His death. But what He is in Himself is most perfectly shewn by His 'obedience unto death' (Phil. ii. 8): and so S. Paul, with an eye to the Lord's own teaching as to the significance of His death (Luke ix. 31; Matt. xx. 28), interprets the command, 'This do in remembrance of me,' with special reference to the preciousness of His death in the Father's sight (1 Cor. xi. 26). This is the Godward aspect of the Eucharist, considered as a Sacrifice: and, as we are taught in the Catechism, this was the primary object of its institution. '*Q.* Why was the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper ordained? *A.* For the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ,' etc. But it has also a function manward. It is a **sacrament . . . insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ, and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the blood of Christ.** These last are simply S. Paul's words (1 Cor. x. 16). They are prefaced by a statement insisting on the need of faith in the recipient (*worthily and with faith*) as well as on the observance of due order in the ministration of the Sacrament by the priest (*rightly*); but they lay stress on the fact that the presence is attached to the sign by virtue of the act of Consecration and is not consequent upon the act of Communion. It is not 'the bread which we *eat*,' but 'the bread which we *break*' and 'the cup of blessing[1] which we *bless*'[2] that is 'a communion of the body, and of the blood, of Christ'; though, of course, the Apostle is careful to affirm that the benefit which the communicant derives is entirely proportionate to his attitude of faith (1 Cor. xi. 27). The Catechism puts this beyond doubt. It is in answer to the question,

[1] A Hebraism for 'Eucharistic Cup.' *Cf.* Luke xvi. 8, 'the steward of unrighteousness'='the unrighteous steward,' and 'Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving'=not 'a sacrifice which consists in praise and thanksgiving,' but 'Eucharistic Sacrifice.' *Cf.* Lev. vii. 12; Ps. cxvi. 17.

[2] 'Bless'='consecrate.'

not, 'What is the inward grace?' but, 'What is the inward part?' that it replies, 'The Body and Blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.'

§ 2 deals with *the mediæval error of transubstantiation.* The word itself first appears in the twelfth century. But the doctrine is older: nor was it gratuitously invented. On the contrary, it was adopted in defence of the more reverential and ancient view of the Eucharist which, without formulating any theory to explain the real presence of Our Lord in the Sacrament, accepted it as a fact, but equally held to the permanence and reality of the outward elements of bread and wine even after the consecration. In the ninth century there were some, as now, who took the words 'This is my body' to mean no more than 'This is a figure of my body'; and their opponents, in order to secure the acceptance of Our Lord's words in their simple and natural sense, were betrayed into replying that by 'This is my body' He meant 'This is no longer bread.' The essence of their position was to provide for the real presence of His body by the simple expedient of asserting that the bread having ceased to exist its place was taken by another substance. But the teaching of either side was unsatisfactory. The one party explained the Words of Institution by explaining away 'the inward part or thing signified'; the other, by explaining away 'the outward sign.' The controversy slept till the eleventh century, when it was re-awakened by the attack of Berengarius on notions of a carnal presence which had now become current. They had such a strong hold that he was forced to recant, and to accept (1059) the revolting doctrine that 'the bread and wine . . . after consecration are not only a sacrament, but the very body and blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ; and are sensibly, not sacramentally only, but actually handled and broken by the hands of priests, and ground by the teeth of the faithful.' This was to say in effect that the material substances of bread and wine give place to the material substances of Christ's body and blood. It was a crude attempt to secure some real meaning to Our Lord's Words of Institution by the doctrine of a *physical* transubstantiation or

change in the material elements. But the Schoolmen now came forward with a subtler defence in their philosophy of Reality. Using 'substance' not of the material thing as it affects our senses but as the equivalent of 'essence,' the Realists held that the 'substance' of a thing is not only that which makes it to be what it is or gives it reality, but also that which exists independently of its outward manifestations. This seemed to exactly meet the case of the Eucharist, where words were said and acts done, and no apparent change took place though a real change was effected. Hence the doctrine of a *metaphysical* transubstantiation was adopted. According to it, the 'substance' of the bread and wine is changed into the 'substance' of Christ's body and blood and so ceases to exist, though in their outward aspects bread and wine remain. This became the accepted theory for explaining the mystery of Our Lord's presence in the Sacrament. It was laid down by the Lateran Council, 1215, and re-affirmed by the Council of Trent, 1551, in its assertion that 'by the consecration . . . a conversion takes place of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the body of Christ our Lord, and of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of His blood, which conversion is . . . called transubstantiation.'[1]

But though this decree immediately preceded the formulation of the English Article, it may be doubted whether the Article repudiates the doctrine as there set forth.

(1) The technical sense attached to 'substance' by the Schoolmen and the Roman Church, was not easily apprehended nor everywhere accepted. In England, where the influence of the Realists was less than that of the Nominalists, substance was commonly used, as we use it, of material substance. Hence, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it was the doctrine of a physical transubstantiation that prevailed. In 1413 the assent of the Lollard leader, Sir John Oldcastle, was required to the following article: 'That after the sacramental words be said by a priest in his Mass, the material bread that was

[1] Sess. xiii. c. 4.

before is turned into Christ's very body, and the material wine that was before is turned into Christ's very blood, and so there leaveth in the altar no material bread nor material wine, the which were there before the saying of the sacramental words': and in 1556, after the publication of the Tridentine doctrine, Sir John Cheke was made to re-affirm at his recantation the very confession required of Berengarius. Moreover, it was not the doctrine of a metaphysical transubstantiation which Cranmer and his fellows cared to attack, but the doctrine of a mutation in the material elements which, by denying the existence, after consecration, of the bread and wine 'in their very natural substances,'[1] deprived the outward sign of all reality, and so abolished one of the two necessary parts of a sacrament.

But (2) this is put beyond all doubt by the case as presented in the Article itself against **transubstantiation or the change of the substance of bread and wine.** It is rejected on four grounds. (*a*) It **cannot be proved by Holy Writ.** This much is clear from the Words of Institution. They state the *fact* of the Real Presence. They neither offer nor invite, still less prove, any *theory* in explanation. (*b*) It **is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture,** which freely speaks of the elements as bread and wine after consecration (1 Cor. xi. 26, 28; Matt. xxvi. 29). (*c*) It **overthroweth the nature of a sacrament:** for a sacrament consists of two parts, and if bread and wine cease to exist upon consecration, there is no sacrament. (*d*) It **hath given occasion to many superstitions.** Thus it was the notion that the material elements only retain the similitude of bread and wine, but are really nothing else than the body and blood of Christ, that found expression in the multiplication of legends concerning bleeding Hosts.

Now these are valid reasons for rejecting the notion of a physical transubstantiation; but they do not touch the official Roman theory of a metaphysical transubstantiation. Certainly this Roman theory 'cannot be proved by Holy Writ'; but neither can it be so

[1] *Cf.* the Black Rubric in the Prayer Book of 1552.

disproved, for it is not 'repugnant to the plain words of Scripture.' All the material phenomena of bread remain, and the Roman Church has no difficulty in speaking of the consecrated Host as 'bread' in the Mass nor in teaching that 'it has the appearance, and still retains the quality, natural to bread, of supporting and nourishing the body.'[1] Neither does this doctrine 'overthrow the nature of a sacrament'; for if what remains after consecration is thus bread, the outward as well as the inward part of the sacrament continues throughout. Nor again can it be said to have 'given occasion to many superstitions': for under its sanction worship is directed not to the elements but to Our Lord. Objections, however, do lie against the modern Roman theory. They are briefly two: (α) that the philosophy which holds that 'substance' has an existence of its own independently of its manifestations, was never undisputed and is now out of date; and (β) that no Church has a right to impose as essential to salvation a theory which is no part of the original faith of Christendom, even in defence of a fact like the Real Presence, which is a part of the original faith.

§ 3. The Article, having thus dismissed explanatory theories, now proceeds to state *the fact of the Real Presence*. **The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper.** Here we note that the subject of the sentence is not 'The sacrament' but *The body of Christ* or the 'inward part' of the sacrament: and that this is said to be not only *taken and eaten* by the recipient, but also to be *given* as well. That which passes from giver to receiver has an existence independent of both. In other words, Our Lord's body exists in the sacrament before it is imparted to the communicant. But lest this statement should seem to wear the taint of materialism, it is supplemented by two safeguards. (1) The whole action takes place **only after a heavenly and spiritual manner.** The meaning of this qualification is bound up with the Scriptural sense of 'spiritual,' which is never contrasted with 'bodily' but with 'carnal' (Rom. vii. 14), 'natural' (1 Cor. ii. 14), and 'worldly' (Heb. ix. 1, 23): and which

[1] *Catechismus Romanus*, II. iv. 38.

is never used of what is figurative, imaginary, and unreal, like much that owes its origin to the human spirit, but always of that, which, like the spiritual man (1 Cor. ii. 15), the resurrection-body (1 Cor. xv. 44), or the unity of the Church (Eph. iv. 3), is created and sustained by the Holy Spirit, and therefore is most real. In other words, the gift in the sacrament is effected by the Holy Spirit; and the presence, as being thus a spiritual presence, is at once a real presence and not a 'gross or sensible' one (*cf.* S. John vi. 52-63). (2) A second safeguard, directed against mechanical notions of the action of the sacrament, follows in the assertion that **the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith.** *Given* is not repeated, but only *received and eaten.* The point is unmistakable. Faith neither creates nor bestows; but faith alone can receive (1 Cor. xi. 27 *sqq.*).

§ 4 seeks to *reduce the prominence given to certain uses of the Eucharist* by pointing out that it **was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped,** but instituted primarily for sacrifice and communion. The need for this declaration lay in the fact that, in the popular religion, Reservation, Processions, and Elevation of the Host, all for the purposes of worship, had almost obscured the proper use of the sacrament. The Article does not say that these practices are wholly to be condemned. Reservation for the absent is mentioned by Justin Martyr in his account of the Eucharist as celebrated in the second century. Elevation, or the raising and exhibition of the Gifts as brought out for the people's communion, occurs in the Eastern liturgies by the ninth century. But as soon as the doctrine of Transubstantiation obtained general credence in the eleventh century, the ideas attached to Reservation and Elevation of the Host took a new direction, and it began to be 'carried about' in Procession for the like purpose of worship. Not that worship is not due to the Divine Person of Our Lord wherever He is present, whether, in accordance with His promise, in the sacrament, or, by His Ascension, at the right hand of the Father: but the practical result of these ceremonies was to *localise* worship by directing

it solely to this or that centre on earth, wherever, for the moment, the Host might be in sight, whether as reserved in the sanctuary, carried about in procession, or elevated for the adoration of the people in the Mass. This is radically wrong. The Eucharistic elements, wherever found, are not so many separate centres for the worship of the Risen Lord: but His special presence is vouchsafed by their means in order to 'lift up our hearts' to the eternal self-oblation of the Son which is ever going on before the Father (Heb. x. 19-25), and, by thus 'making us to sit with Him in the heavenly places' (Eph. ii. 6), to direct our adoration towards its one centre, the Lamb standing at the right hand of God (*cf.* Rev. iv. v.).

ARTICLE XXIX

‡ De manducatione corporis Christi, et impios illud non manducare.

Impii et viva fide destituti, licet carnaliter et visibilitur (ut Augustinus loquitur) corporis et sanguinis Christ sacramentum dentibus premant, nullo tamen modo Christi participes efficiuntur; sed potius tantae rei sacramentum seu symbolum ad judicium sibi manducant et bibunt.‡

Of the wicked which do not eat the body of Christ, in the use of the Lord's Supper.

The wicked and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth (as S. Augustine saith) the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, yet in nowise are they partakers of Christ, but rather to their condemnation do eat and drink the sign or sacrament of so great a thing.

(i) **Source.**—Composed in 1562-3, probably by Archbishop Parker.

(ii) **Object.**—The history of this Article is the key to its purpose. It first appeared in the draft articles presented to Convocation by the Archbishop, which, after various emendations, received the signatures of the Bishops on Jan. 29, 1563. But it was struck out from the series before publication, probably at the bidding of the Queen. She was anxious to conciliate the Roman party, and to retain them, if possible, within the English Church. But in 1570 the papal bull of excommunication was issued, and the policy of comprehension necessarily abandoned. Accordingly, at the last revision of the Articles, No. 29 was re-admitted, and is found in a copy of May 11, 1571, signed by Parker and ten bishops, including Guest of Rochester. But Guest was not

satisfied. Believing as he did, not only that Christ is present in the sacrament but also that the wicked eat His body therein, he wrote off at once to Cecil suggesting that in Art. 28 'to avoid offence and contention the word "only" may be well left out,' and, further, that Art. 29 be omitted as likely 'to cause much business.' His advice was not taken. Art. 29 kept its place in the edition ratified by the Queen, and has stood in all subsequent editions. It seems to have been adopted as an appendix to Art. 28 to guard against merely mechanical views of the sacrament.

(iii) **Explanation.**—Its language is open to two interpretations:—

(1) Some, pointing to the fact that the phrase employed in the title, 'Of the wicked which do not eat the body of Christ,' is exchanged in the text for 'in nowise are they partakers of Christ,' contend that, as the titles of the Articles are not always good guides to their meaning,[1] the expression in the heading must be interpreted by that in the body of the Article, and that it is possible to 'eat the body of Christ' without becoming 'a partaker of Christ.' This would mean that the wicked receive the *signum* and the *res* but not the *virtus sacramenti*, which was the ordinary teaching of the Mediæval Church.[2] They eat the body of Christ, but they eat not beneficially. But this view is open to serious objections: (*a*) from the history of the Article. Had it been the natural interpretation of the Article, Guest would have made no effort to get rid of it; (*b*) from its connection with Art. 28, which affirms that 'the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten . . . is faith.' But **the wicked are such as be void of a lively faith.** Therefore they cannot receive it. (*c*) From other expressions in the Article itself. When it is said that **they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth . . . the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ,** 'sacrament' is not here used in the sense of the sign as accompanied by the thing signified, but of the mere sign; for that which **to their**

[1] *Cf.* Arts. 4, 10, 13, 31.
[2] *Cf.* S. Thomas Aq., *Summa*, III., lxxx. 3.

condemnation they do eat and drink is described as the sign or sacrament of so great a thing.

(2) Thus the natural sense of the Article is that which stands on its surface. It asserts that the body and blood of Christ, or 'inward part' of the sacrament, is offered to the wicked, but that, in consequence of their spiritual condition, they are not only incapable of receiving it but draw down upon themselves condemnation by profanely approaching it. And this interpretation satisfies the language of Holy Scripture. In 1 Cor. xi. 27-30, S. Paul's words undoubtedly imply that the elements are by consecration so related to the body and blood of Christ that they cease to be mere bread and wine and thus become capable of profanation; but they do not imply that such profanation arises from the actual eating of the Lord's body by the wicked. 'He that eateth and drinketh, eateth and drinketh judgement unto himself, if he discriminate (*marg.*) not the body' from ordinary food. But to be thus discriminated, it must be there first: *i.e.* in any case there must be a real presence in the sacrament. The words of Our Lord are equally conclusive. In John vi. 50-54, He speaks of 'life' as imparted by 'eating His flesh and drinking His blood'; 'and no such thing is contemplated as a *real* eating of them, which is not a *beneficial* eating of them also.' Admittedly 'the wicked' have not 'life' through the sacrament. So they 'do not eat the body of Christ' in the sacrament. 'Without faith it can only be eaten *sacramentally* by eating the bread which is the sign or sacrament of it.'[1]

[1] *Cf.* Mozley, *Lectures and other Theological Papers*, p. 205.

ARTICLE XXX

De Utraque Specie.	Of Both Kinds.
‡ Calix Domini laicis non est denegandus, utraque enim pars Dominici sacramenti, ex Christi institutione et praecepto, omnibus Christianis ex aequo administrari debet.‡	The Cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the lay people; for both the parts of the Lord's sacrament, by Christ's ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian men alike.

(i) **Source.**—Composed and first inserted in 1563.

(ii) **Object.**—To restore to the laity the participation in the Chalice which had been denied to them since the twelfth century. On July 16, 1562, the Council of Trent had anathematised any one who should say 'that by the precept of God (*ex Dei praecepto*) or by necessity of salvation (*ex necessitate salutis*) all and each of the faithful of Christ ought to receive both species of the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist.'[1] The Article looks like a reply to the challenge. It says that communion in both kinds is *ex Christi praecepto*. But it does not say that it is *ex necessitate salutis*. Thus the difference between England and Rome is dealt with as a question of discipline.

(iii) **Explanation.**—The denial of the Cup to the laity is merely a custom of the Western Church in the Middle Ages. In Scripture, all communicated in both kinds (1 Cor. xi. 24-26, 28; *cf.* x. 21): while the descriptions of the Eucharist, as given by S. Justin Martyr in the second century and by S. Cyril of Jerusalem in the fourth century, afford ample evidence that it was so administered

[1] Sess. xxi., can. 1.

among the Christians of their day. About 1100, the denial of the Chalice to the laity began to creep in from motives of reverence, but it was at once condemned by the popes themselves 'as a human and novel institution.' But the custom spread, chiefly owing to the prevalent belief in Transubstantiation; on the basis of which it was easily justified by the doctrine of Concomitance, *i.e.* that Our Lord is so entirely and indivisibly present in either element that all who partake of the consecrated Host receive therein His blood concomitantly with His body.[1] At the Reformation the demand for the restoration of the Cup to the laity was loud and widespread: but the Roman Church being now committed to the doctrine of Concomitance, which had been accepted by the Council of Constance, 1415, in defence of the denial of the Chalice, could not give way except at the expense of her own infallibility. Her only course is to find arguments in its favour. They are drawn (1) from Scripture. S. Paul says 'eat the bread *or* drink the cup' (1 Cor. xi. 27), and Our Lord speaks of the bread as life-giving (John vi. 51, 58). But the use of one kind cannot be thus defended in the face of 1 Cor. x. 16 and the Words of Institution, 'Drink ye *all* of this.' If it be replied that *all* the Apostles were priests, it is doubtful whether they were priests then; and in any case the fact would be irrelevant, for in the Roman Church only the celebrant communicates in both kinds; (2) from reverence and convenience. But these considerations cannot be set against a Divine command; (3) from the power of the Church to decree rites and ceremonies. But she may not decree any contrary to Scripture.[2]

[1] 'Ex naturali concomitantia.' S. Thomas Aq., *Summa*, III., lxxvi. 1.

[2] *Cf.* Art. 20.

ARTICLE XXXI

De unica Christi oblatione in Cruce perfecta.	Of the one oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross.
(§ 1) Oblatio Christi, semel facta, perfecta est redemptio, propitiatio, et satisfactio pro omnibus peccatis totius mundi, tam originalibus quam actualibus; neque praeter illam unicam est ulla alia pro peccatis expiatio. (§ 2) Unde missarum sacrificia, quibus vulgo dicebatur sacerdotem offerre Christum in remissionem pœnae aut culpae pro vivis et defunctis, blasphema figmenta sunt et pernitiosae imposturae.	(§ 1) The offering of Christ once made is the perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual, and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone. (§ 2) Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said that the priests did offer Christ for the quick and dead to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits.

(i) **Source.**—Composed by the English Reformers, 1552-3; and maintained, with but slight verbal alterations, since that time.

(ii) **Object.**—To reject later mediæval conceptions of the Eucharistic Sacrifice which conflicted with the sufficiency of Christ's sacrifice upon the Cross; and, as expressed in current practice, led to grave abuses. The tenets in question are not to be hastily identified with the official doctrine of the Roman Church on the sacrifice of the Mass, which was only laid down by the Council of Trent[1] on Sept. 17, 1562. From the title of the Article it might be inferred that it is concerned with the Atonement. But the title is inexact,[2] and only describes the restatement of that doctrine in § 1 which is

[1] Sess. xxii.

[2] *Cf.* Arts. 4, 10, 13.

introduced as a basis for the main affirmation of § 2. The Article deals with the Eucharist, as is clear both from its structure and from its place in the series. The 'Wherefore' of § 2 indicates that its substantive declaration is to be sought in its final clause.[1] Again, it stands last in the group relating to the Church, the Ministry, and the Sacraments (Arts. 19-31); in immediate connection with the two Articles which deal with the Real Presence (Arts. 28, 29); and between two others which broke down the two abuses connected with the Eucharist, of confining Communion in both kinds to the celebrant (Art. 30) and of enforcing celibacy on the clergy (Art. 32), abuses resting for their sanction on an exaggerated isolation ascribed to the priest in the Mass.

(iii) **Explanation.**—§ 1 is *preliminary*. It *restates the doctrine of the Atonement*, so as, by emphasising the sufficiency of the one oblation once made, to provide a rule by which perverted doctrines of the Eucharistic Sacrifice are to be rejected. **The offering of Christ once made is the perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world both original and actual, and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone.** We have already considered the Atonement,[2] and the metaphors of *Redemption* and *Propitiation* by which it is described in Scripture. *Satisfaction* is another figure originating in Latin theology with the barrister Tertullian (*c.* 200), who borrowed it from the Civil Law.[3] It became a convenient term to cover that aspect of Our Lord's sacrifice in which it may be regarded as payment of human debt or obligation: and acquired a recognised place in later theology, specially through its adoption by S. Anselm (*d.* 1109). Treating sin as debt (Matt. vi. 12), he laid it down that either satisfaction or punishment must follow every sin.[4] Christ's death, being of infinite worth as the death of God and available for us as the death of our fellow-man, was a payment in full or

[1] *Cf.* structure of Arts. 7, 10, 11, 16, 20, 21, 32, 36.
[2] Art. 2, vol. i. pp. 75 *sqq.*
[3] 'Satisfactio pro solutione est.'—Ulpian. It=a release.
[4] 'Necesse est ut omne peccatum satisfactio aut pœna sequatur.' —*Cur Deus Homo*, i. 15.

entire satisfaction for human sin. Thus the fourfold cycle of figures—Reconciliation, Redemption, Propitiation, and Satisfaction—is completed by which the sufficiency of Christ's sacrifice for sin in all its forms is affirmed: while the universal extent of its efficacy is re-asserted in terms equally familiar. It was for *all the sins of the whole world both original and actual.*[1] As to this perfection of His sacrifice on the Cross, the Epistle to the Hebrews (vii. 26, 27; ix. 11-14, 24-28; x. 10-14) is conclusive. He 'made there (by His one oblation of Himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world.'[2] But it is equally clear from Scripture that in the Eucharist there is a sacrifice. It was instituted at the Passover (Luke xxii. 15) in language full of sacrificial associations, such as those which would be conveyed by the separate consecration of the bread and the wine, pointing to the severance of Our Lord's Body and Blood in death, and by the use of technical terms, such as 'this is my blood of the covenant (Matt. xxvi. 28; Mark xiv. 24; *cf.* Ex. xxiv. 8) which is shed [better *tr.* being 'poured out,' as Luke xxii. 20] for many,' a phrase which would recall the characteristic act of sacrifice as consisting not in the death of the victim but in its life surrendered, not in the shedding of its blood by the sinner but in the presentation of its blood by the priest (Lev. xvii. 11; xvi. 14; Heb. ix. 24 *sqq.*). Moreover it was as the Christian sacrifice that the Eucharist presented itself to the earliest converts, Gentile or Jewish. The Gentile Christian was appealed to on the ground that through 'the table of the Lord' he had fellowship with his God, as the pagan with his idol through its altar called 'the table of devils' (1 Cor. x. 21): the Jewish Christian on the ground that in it he had 'an altar' or place of sacrifice,[3] 'whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle' (Heb. xiii. 10). In either case, the point of the appeal is that in the Eucharist Christians have a specific sacrifice of their

[1] *Cf.* Arts. 2, 9, 15.
[2] Prayer of Consecration in Holy Communion.
[3] See Westcott, *ad loc.*

own. And the appeal was effective. With both Jew and Gentile, the Eucharist effaced the craving for a system of animal sacrifices, and yet satisfied that belief in worship as essentially sacrificial which belongs to Catholic Christianity in common with the religious instincts of all mankind. How then was the sufficiency of the Sacrifice on the Cross to be reconciled with the reality of a Sacrifice in the Eucharist? By their common relation to the eternal self-oblation of Our Lord in heaven. As in the Levitical sacrifices,[1] the death of the victim was but preliminary to the outpouring of its blood in the sanctuary by the priest, so the death on Calvary is consummated by the entry of the High Priest 'into heaven itself now to appear before the face of God for us' (Heb. ix. 24, *cf.* 12; xii. 24), as 'the Lamb' that 'had been slain' (Rev. v. 6), and yet still '*is* the propitiation for our sins' (1 John ii. 2). Thus, as our 'priest for ever' (Heb. vii. 17), Christ approaches the Father for us, with His one offering perpetually available (x. 14): but we in our turn are invited to 'draw near' (x. 22) in the Eucharist,[2] 'having boldness . . . to enter into the holy place by the blood of Jesus by the way which he dedicated for us, a new and living way, through the veil, that is to say [by the way of[2]] his flesh, and having a great high priest over the house of God' (x. 19-21). Thus the truth is 'that the Eucharistic Sacrifice, even in its highest aspect, must be put in one line (if we may so say) not with what Christ did once for all upon the Cross, but with what He is doing continually in heaven; that as present naturally in heaven and sacramentally in the Holy Eucharist, the Lamb of God exhibits Himself to the Father, and *pleads* the Atonement as once finished in act but ever living in operation; that in neither case does He repeat it or add to it. The notion that it was *not* unique or perfect, but could be reiterated or supplemented, in heaven or on earth, was justly denounced as a "blasphemous fable" in Art. 31.'[3]

[1] See vol. i. p. 76. *Cf.* Lev. i.-v.; xvi.
[2] See Westcott, *ad loc.*
[3] Bright, *Ancient Collects*, p. 144, n.

§ 2 condemns the popular religion of *sacrifices, priests,* and *Masses* (note the plurals) *as implying that Christ's sacrifice had to be reiterated and supplemented.* It does not condemn every doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, but only such as may derogate from the all-sufficiency of the one oblation once made upon the Cross, as is implied by the connecting particle, **Wherefore**: nor does it condemn the sacrifice of the Mass but **the sacrifices of Masses**: nor any doctrine authoritatively laid down by the Church but only what was **commonly said**: nor the offering of Christ for quick and dead, *i.e.* the inclusion of a memorial for the departed at the Eucharist, but those services in which **the priests did offer Christ for the quick and dead to have remission of pain or guilt.** What then is the system against which such hard words are flung as that its outstanding features were **blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits**? The Eucharistic Sacrifice was not discussed by the earlier Schoolmen, who were too much occupied with elaborating the theory of Transubstantiation in defence of the Real Presence. But S. Thomas (*d.* 1274) let fall assertions to the effect that sacrifice consists in the physical modification of the victim,[1] and that the chief use of the Eucharist lies not in the Communion of the faithful but in the Consecration by the priest.[2] Thus two new elements acquired undue prominence in the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. The destruction of the victim ousted the offering of the blood as the characteristic feature of the sacrifice, and the place of the people was obscured by the stress laid on the function of the priest. Later theology came very near to a reiteration of Christ's death in each Mass, and argued the more priests and Masses the greater the merit or satisfaction obtainable. These tendencies fell in admirably with the beliefs, independently developed, in the power of the sacraments to take effect mechanically[3] and in the penalties[4] of sin that remained to be met by satisfaction in Purgatory. Out of these three elements, namely an erroneous view of sacrifice, a mechanical theory of the efficacy of Masses, and a belief

[1] *Summa*, II[a.] II[ae.], lxxxv. 3 ad 3. [2] *Ib.*, III., lxxx. 12 ad 2.
[3] *Cf.* Art. 25. [4] *Cf.* Art. 22.

in 'pain' or penalties to be worked off, grew up a system which found expression in the establishment from the thirteenth century onwards of Chantries, in which priests were endowed to sing 'Masses satisfactory' *for the quick and dead to have remission of pain or guilt.* In the sixteenth century, a further notion prevailed to the effect that Christ died on the Cross for original sin, and instituted the Mass for expiation of actual sins.[1] As every act of sin was held to require its corresponding act of satisfaction, popular religion was mainly occupied in procuring, often in purchasing, Masses as a set-off against sins, whether for oneself or for friends departed. It was this system, with its underlying ideas, that was put down by the Act dissolving the Chantries[2] in 1547, and afterwards denounced in the unsparing language of the Article. The denunciation was deserved, for the popular doctrine obscured the perpetual power of the one sacrifice once offered upon the Cross. But when this had been re-asserted by the Article, the door was re-opened to a recovery of the primitive and Catholic doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, as 'commemorative, impetrative, and applicative'[3] of Our Lord's High Priestly work.

[1] See vol. i. p. 77.

[2] 1 Ed. VI. c. 14. On the intricacies of the system, so difficult of apprehension by us from whom it is wholly removed, the author may refer to *The Later Mediæval Doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice* (S.P.C.K.), where this Article and its antecedents are examined at length, with full references.

[3] Bramhall, *Works*, i. 54.

Group D. Miscellaneous Articles relating to **the discipline of the Church of England. (Arts. 32-39.)**

ARTICLE XXXII

‡De Conjugio Sacerdotum.

(§ 1) Episcopis, Presbyteris et Diaconis nullo mandato divino praeceptum est, ut aut cœlibatum voveant aut a matrimonio abstineant. (§ 2) Licet igitur etiam illis, ut caeteris omnibus Christianis, ubi hoc ad pietatem magis facere judicaverint, pro suo arbitratu matrimonium contrahere.‡

Of the Marriage of Priests.

(§ 1) Bishops, Priests, and Deacons are not commanded by God's laws either to vow the estate of single life or to abstain from marriage. (§ 2) Therefore it is lawful also for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.

(i) **Source.**—Composed in 1552-3, when it merely contained the negative statement that a single life is not enjoined on the clergy.[1] This was exchanged in 1563, when the Article was rewritten, for the positive assertion that they may marry. Note the retention of 'sacerdos' as indicative of what is meant by 'priest.'

(ii) **Object.**—To dispel the prejudice against marriage of priests as sinful.

(iii) **Explanation.**—§ 1 lays down as a *premiss* that there is no prohibition of the marriage of the clergy in Scripture. No one would dispute this. The Roman Church has not said more than that this is a question of discipline. The Levitical priesthood were married (Lev. xxi. 13, 14), S. Peter 'was himself a married man'

[1] See Appendix.

(Mark i. 30), and S. Paul both claims the 'right' for himself (1 Cor. ix. 5) and acknowledges it in other clergy (1 Tim. iii. 2, 12; Tit. i. 5, 6). § 2 draws the *conclusion* that it is lawful also for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, etc. But apparently this was not the conclusion drawn by the early Church, whether in East or West. The cases referred to in Scripture imply the existence of a clergy married before ordination, but they are silent as to the right of the clergy to marry, and as to the use of marriage, after it. The clergy were freely allowed the use of marriage in the first three centuries; in the fourth it was forbidden in the West, but prevailed in the East, where it is still permitted to priests and deacons. But marriage after ordination has been universally prohibited[1] from early times. The prohibition, however, was difficult to enforce; and, when enforced, was generally disastrous to clerical morals. It was removed in England by a resolution of Convocation on December 17, 1547, and re-affirmed in this Article. The right of a local Church thus to take her own line in a matter of discipline would be justified by an appeal to the principle of Art. 34.

[1] Except, on conditions, to deacons at Arles, 314.

ARTICLE XXXIII

De Excommunicatis Vitandis.	Of Excommunicate Persons, how they are to be avoided.
Qui per publicam Ecclesiae denunciationem rite ab unitate Ecclesiae praecisus est et excommunicatus, is ab universa fidelium multitudine, donec per pœnitentiam publice reconciliatus fuerit arbitrio judicis competentis, habendus est tanquam ethnicus et publicanus.	That person which by open denunciation of the Church is rightly cut off from the unity of the Church and excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful as an heathen and publican, until he be openly reconciled by penance and received into the Church by a judge that hath authority thereto.

(i) **Source.**—Composed by the English Reformers, 1552-3.

(ii) **Object.**—To vindicate for the Church her right to exercise discipline over her members, a right much disputed, as by the Anabaptists and in the Vestiarian Controversy, under Edward VI.

(iii) **Explanation.**—The right is assumed, and indeed belongs to every self-governing society, which must have power to decide upon its terms of membership and expel offenders. The Article merely deals with the mode in which such power is to be exercised, by Excommunication. The Jewish Church had two forms: (1) temporary exclusion from the congregation, such as was inflicted on Miriam (Num. xii. 14), or on a leper (Lev. xiii. 5), who suffered the same penalty as the Apostles and others when 'separated' (Luke vi. 22), or 'put out of the synagogue' (John ix. 22; xii. 42; xvi. 2), and (2) permanent anathema (Ezra x. 8), cutting off the offender

from all intercourse with the faithful (1 Cor. v. 11). Such powers of discipline Our Lord claimed for and bestowed on His Church when He laid down rules for its administration. An offender is to be dealt with, first by private expostulation; next, in company of 'two or three witnesses'; and, if that fails, openly by 'the church,' here apparently the local Church (Matt. xviii. 15-17). Apostolic practice and precept followed these lines. S. Paul excommunicated the incestuous man at Corinth (1 Cor. v. 1-5) to protect others (6-8) as well as to save the man's own soul (5); though, both in his case and in that of Hymenæus and Alexander (1 Tim. i. 20), 'delivery unto Satan' may have implied more than excommunication and have carried with it the infliction of bodily disease, as indeed was not unnatural when, in the miraculous age of the infant Church, the spiritual and moral, was of set purpose enforced by the physical, order (*cf.* Acts v. 1-11; xiii. 10, 11; 1 Cor. xi. 30; Jas. v. 13-15). But precepts indicating the Apostolic practice of excommunication are of frequent occurrence (Rom. xvi. 17; 2 Thess. iii. 14; Titus iii. 10; 2 John 10). The later Church made effective use of the weapon of excommunication for spiritual and moral offences; but it was brought into discredit when the mediæval popes began to wield it for political advantage. From this degradation it has never recovered; and, though retained by the Church of England[1] in the double form of the lesser excommunication,[2] which deprives the offender of sacraments and divine worship, and of the greater excommunication,[3] which, for grave offences against faith and morals, further excludes him from **the whole multitude of the faithful as an heathen and publican** (Matt. xviii. 17), excommunication as an effective part of Church discipline is in abeyance. For its infliction or removal, **the judge that hath authority thereunto** is the Bishop, or an Ecclesiastical Court.

[1] *Cf.* first rubric after Nicene Creed, and before the Order for the Burial of the Dead.

[2] Third rubric before the Order for Holy Communion. *Cf.* Canon 65 of 1604.

[3] Canon 68 of 1604.

ARTICLE XXXIV

De Traditionibus Ecclesiasticis.

(§ 1) Traditiones atque caeremonias easdem non omnino necessarium est esse ubique, aut prorsus consimiles; nam et variae semper fuerunt et mutari possunt, pro regionum ‡temporum‡ et morum diversitate, modo nihil contra verbum Dei instituatur.

(§ 2) Traditiones et caeremonias ecclesiasticas quae cum verbo Dei non pugnant et sunt autoritate publica institutae atque probatae, quisquis privato consilio volens et data opera publice violaverit, is ut qui peccat in publicum ordinem Ecclesiae, quique laedit autoritatem magistratus, et qui infirmorum fratrum conscientias vulnerat, publice, ut caeteri timeant, arguendus est.

(§ 3) †Quaelibet Ecclesia particularis sive nationalis autoritatem habet instituendi mutandi aut abrogandi caeremonias aut ritus ecclesiasticos, humana tantum autoritate institutos, modo omnia ad aedificationem fiant.†

Of the Traditions of the Church.

(§ 1) It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one or utterly alike; for at all times they have been diverse, and may be changed according to the diversity of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's word.

(§ 2) Whosoever through his private judgment willingly and purposely doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church which be not repugnant to the word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly that other may fear to do the like, as he that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the magistrate, and woundeth the conscience of the weak brethren.

(§ 3) Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying.

(i) **Source.**—§§ 1, 2 stood, as at present, in 1552-3, except for the addition of *temporum* in 1563, but are traceable

to the Thirteen Articles. § 3 was inserted in 1563, being borrowed from a Latin series of twenty-four 'Heads of Religion' drawn up by Parker in 1559. It is therefore placed between † †.

(ii) **Object.**—To vindicate for the English Church her right to regulate her own order in matters of discipline, regardless of the claims of § 2 Puritans and § 3 Papists.

(iii) **Explanation.**—The Article should be closely compared with Art. 20.

§ 1 lays it down that there is no need for **traditions**, *i.e.* customs, **and ceremonies** to be everywhere alike, and appeals to history in proof of the statement. That they **have been diverse** may be illustrated by the incident of Pope Anicetus and S. Polycarp, in the middle of the second century, who agreed to differ about the time for celebrating Easter, and maintained communion with each other: and that they **may be changed according to the diversity** of circumstances is no more than is covered by the wise eclecticism which Pope Gregory recommended to S. Augustine, 601. Such circumstances vary with **countries**, as when a cold climate makes affusion in Baptism preferable to immersion; with **times**, as when, by the change from persecution to honour which the Church experienced in the fourth century, she was at liberty to replace a simple, by a ceremonious, worship; and with **men's manners**, as when the Kiss of Peace[1] fell out of use because such a mode of salutation, ordinary enough in the common life of orientals and southerners, was not congenial to the manners of the less demonstrative north. So long as the omission or introduction of any custom is **not against God's word**, it is a matter to be ruled by considerations like these.

§ 2 lifts the principle regulating **traditions and ceremonies** on to a higher plane. It condemns wilful disregard of rule in things once **ordered and approved by common authority**[2] as a breach of (1) **the common order of the Church**, (2) the obedience due to **the magistrate**, and (3) charity, or consideration for **the consciences of the**

[1] See vol. i. p. 99.

[2] *Cf.* The Prayer Book, Of ceremonies (1549).

weak brethren. The first and third of these obligations are pointedly set forth in Scripture. Our Lord bade men submit to 'the scribes and the Pharisees' who 'sit on Moses' seat' (Matt. xxiii. 2, 3); and without some such principle of action confusion would be inevitable, and the corporate life of the Church itself be endangered. This to S. Paul is no light offence (1 Cor. iii. 16, 17); and he is equally emphatic that, in things indifferent, charity is the first duty (1 Cor. viii. 1). But the right of the civil power to interfere in the outward order of the Church is bound up with the principle that it is part of the function of the magistrate to maintain religion, a principle recognised in our formularies,[1] but less readily acknowledged now than in the sixteenth century. In that age each of these three sanctions was of special importance when (1) Anabaptists rejected all authority in Church or State, when (2) some bishops, as Ridley in his substitution of Tables for Altars, 1550, anticipated the action of the law to gratify their own preferences;[2] and when (3) Hooper rejected, as an offence to weak consciences, the right of the Church[3] to prescribe observances indifferent in themselves, 1550. The best justification of the position here taken up is the attempt of the Puritans, all but successful, to overthrow the common order on February 13th, 1563,[4] and the confusion that followed, before 1571, on their claiming the right to stay in the Church as nonconformists[5] to it.

§ 3 carries the argument to its conclusion, against the Papists, by adding that such rights of self-government belong to **every particular or national Church.** On this ground rests the justification for most of what had been done in the course of the English Reformation. In that age of national consolidation a *particular* or local *Church* naturally took the shape and name of a *national* Church; though autonomy in 'customs' was freely recognised by the

[1] *Cf.* The Litany, and the Prayer for the Church Militant.
[2] Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, iii. p. 206.
[3] *Ib.*, p. 214 *sq.*
[4] See vol. i. pp. 49 *sqq.*
[5] Dixon, iii. pp. 184 *sqq.* 'Nonconformity not separation.'

ancient councils[1] to belong as much to the Churches of a 'diocese,' or administrative division of the Roman Empire such as Egypt, or to a province, as to the independent Churches of Cyprus or Armenia. All that is meant is that no argument can be drawn from Scripture or antiquity in favour of universal uniformity. But this liberty of local Churches is limited by two conditions. The customs they **ordain, change, and abolish** must be such as were **ordained only by man's authority**: and the rule in any action they take must be that **all things be done to edifying** (Rom. xiv. 19; 1 Cor. xiv. 26). It may be added that while we claim this liberty to reform ourselves, we allow it to others. 'In these our doings we condemn no other nations, nor prescribe anything but to our own people only.'

[1] *Cf.* Nicaea, Canon vi.; Constantinople, Canon ii.; Ephesus, Canon viii.

ARTICLE XXXV

De Homiliis.

‡ Tomus secundus Homiliarum, quarum singulos titulos huic Articulo subjunximus,[1] continet piam et salutarem doctrinam et his temporibus necessarium, non minus quam prior tomus Homiliarum, quae editae sunt tempore Edwardi Sexti: itaque eas in Ecclesiis per ministros diligenter et clare, ut a populo intelligi possint, recitandas esse judicamus. ‡

Of Homilies.

The second Book of Homilies, the several titles whereof we have joined under this Article,[1] doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine and necessary for these times, as doth the former Book of Homilies which were set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth: and therefore we judge them to be read in Churches by the ministers diligently and distinctly, that they may be understanded of the people.

(i) **Source.**—One of the series of 1552-3, rewritten in 1563.

(ii) **Object.**—To commend the doctrine contained in the Books of Homilies, and to secure their being read in Church.

(iii) **Explanation.**—The need of Homilies arose from scarcity of preachers, who were either incapable or intemperate: incapable, owing to the decay of learning in the Universities which followed upon the destruction of the monasteries; and intemperate, because such as could preach were partisans. Two measures were adopted in remedy of the evil. The Crown from time to time silenced all, or all but licensed, preachers. The Church put Homilies, composed by prominent divines, into the hands of the

[1] They are omitted here for lack of space, but may be found in the Articles as printed with the Prayer Book. The Homilies are published by the S.P.C.K.

clergy. In 1542 the bishops agreed 'to make certain Homilies for stay of such errors as were then by ignorant preachers sparkled among the people,' which were produced in Convocation, 1543. But the project slept till the next reign, when the First Book of Homilies, 1547, twelve in number, and afterwards, 1549, divided into thirty-two parts, was 'appointed by the King's Majesty to be declared and read by all parsons, vicars, and curates every Sunday in their churches' at High Mass.[1] Under Mary this was exchanged for other Homilies, projected both in Royal Articles, 1554, and in Synod, 1555, but never achieved. Yet the need was thus recognised on both sides. The date of the publication of **The Second Book of Homilies** under Elizabeth is uncertain, but the Article of 1563 commends it along with **the former Book**, and orders **them to be read in churches . . . diligently and distinctly.** The point of this order lies in the fact that the Homilies were resented by many of the old-fashioned clergy on the score of doctrine, who took their revenge by reading them unintelligibly. Afterwards they were no less distasteful to the Puritans, as restricting the liberty of preaching in favour of 'conceived' utterances. 'Remove Homilies, Articles, Injunctions' was one of their demands in the First Admonition to Parliament, 1572. Considering that the pulpit then took the place of the press, the platform, and the playhouse, as the means of influencing public opinion, the policy of setting forth Homilies by authority was an expedient as certain to be seized in its own interests by the government as to be resented by its opponents among the governed. The addition in 1571 of the Homily against Wilful Rebellion, after the Northern Rebellion of 1569, is a case in point.[2]

It should be observed that *the nature of assent* demanded to the Homilies is but as to documents of *general* authority and *temporary* usefulness. They **contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times.**

[1] *Cf.* rubric after the Nicene Creed in the Prayer Books of 1549, 1552, 1559, 1662.

[2] This made twenty-one Homilies in forty-three parts.

ARTICLE XXXVI

‡De Episcoporum et Ministrorum Consecratione.

(§ 1) Libellus de Consecratione Archiepiscoporum et Episcoporum et de ordinatione Presbyterorum et Diaconorum, editus nuper temporibus Edwardi Sexti et auctoritate Parliamenti illis ipsis temporibus confirmatus, omnia ad ejusmodi consecrationem et ordinationem necessaria continet; et nihil habet quod ex se sit aut superstitiosum aut impium. (§ 2) Itaque quicunque juxta ritus illius libri consecrati aut ordinati sunt, ab anno secundo praedicti Regis Edwardi usque ad hoc tempus aut in posterum juxta eosdem ritus consecrabuntur aut ordinabuntur, rite, atque ordine, atque legitime statuimus esse et fore consecratos et ordinatos. ‡

Of Consecration of Bishops and Ministers.

(§ 1) The Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops and ordering of Priests and Deacons, lately set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth and confirmed at the same time by authority of Parliament, doth contain all things necessary to such consecration and ordering; neither hath it anything that of itself is superstitious or ungodly. (§ 2) And therefore whosoever are consecrate or ordered according to the rites of that book, since the second year of the aforenamed King Edward unto this time, or hereafter shall be consecrated or ordered according to the same rites, we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrate or ordered.

(i) **Source.**—Composed in 1563, and substituted then for an Article of more general character which occupied this position in 1553.

(ii) **Object.**—To vindicate § 1 Anglican Orders against the objections of Papists and Puritans to their spiritual validity, and § 2 to establish the legality of the Ordinal in answer to the cavils of certain Papists against its statutory authority.

(iii) **Explanation.**—§ 1 contends for the spiritual validity of Anglican orders.

(1) In reply to the objections of *Papists*, it asserts that the Ordinal of Edward VI. **doth contain all things necessary.** The Edwardian Ordinal, in its earlier form, appeared in 1550 under the sanction of 3 and 4 Ed. VI. c. 12, and in its later form, in 1552, under cover of the second Act of Uniformity, 5 and 6 Ed. VI. c. 1: but, so far as the spiritual validity of the rite is concerned, the two Ordinals were not materially different. The objections entertained by the Romanensian party against the rite when the Article was framed in 1563 are to be seen in their treatment of Orders conferred under it during the Marian Reaction. Before Pole arrived, Nov. 1554, as Papal Legate with instructions to deal with the question, a policy had been instituted by the Queen and carried out by Bonner in his diocese of London which, 'touching such persons as were heretofore promoted to any orders after the new sort and fashion of order,' was meant to 'supply that thing which wanted in them before.'[1] Among these deficiencies we find mentioned the omission of the anointing of the hands of a priest at his ordination. 'They would have us believe,' writes Pilkington, a contemptuous but contemporary witness afterwards Bishop of Durham, 1561-76, 'that the oil hath such holiness in it that whosoever lacketh it is no priest nor minister. Therefore in the late days of Popery our holy bishops called before them all such as were made ministers without such greasing, and . . . anointed them, and then all was perfect: they might sacrifice for quick and dead.'[2] Some clergy, however, scrupled rehabilitation by any such supplementary proceedings, presented themselves for re-ordination, and received it. But, by Pole's arrival, such re-ordinations had ceased: and the Cardinal appears to have tolerated Edwardian Orders by leaving in their benefices men who

[1] The Queen's Injunctions of March 4, 1554, ap. Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, i. p. 125: and for Bonner's Articles, *ib.*, p. 144.

[2] *Works*, Parker Society, p. 163.

had received them.[1] Yet in his legatine constitution of February 10, 1556, Pole embodied the judgment of Eugenius IV., given in 1439, which lays it down that the 'matter' of ordination to the priesthood consists in the Delivery of the Chalice and Paten, and its 'form' in the sentence, 'Receive the power of offering sacrifice in the Church for quick and dead.' Probably, then, it was on the ground of such omissions as these that the Romanensians rejected the Edwardian rite in 1563.[2] But these objections are now abandoned by Romanists. The unction of the hands is a local usage dating only from the ninth or tenth century; the Delivery of the Instruments with its formula appears first in the twelfth. The Papal Bull of 1896 condemns Anglican Orders as null and void, on the ground that the rite is defective in (*a*) Intention and (*b*) Form. Thus (*a*) the Ordinal is held to have been 'changed with the manifest intention of introducing another rite not approved by the Church and of rejecting what the Church does.'[3] But the preface to the Ordinal is a sufficient answer to this charge. If again (*b*) the rite is condemned as failing to make mention in its 'Form' either of the order to be conferred or of the power of offering sacrifice,[4] our reply is that it is impossible to maintain by a comparison of other rites admittedly valid that either the one or the other of these conditions is invariably satisfied.[5] The Article, however, is content to use a moderate though firm tone in defence of the Ordinal: and no scholar who has well surveyed its history and contents side by side with those of other Ordinals will wish to do more. But as 'public prayer with imposition of hands'[6] (Acts vi. 6, etc.) constitutes the sole essentials of ordination, it is abundantly plain that the Ordinal which prays for the ordinand in Our Lord's own words (John xx. 22) at the moment of his ordination *doth contain all things necessary to such consecration and ordering.*

[1] Frere, *The Marian Reaction*, pp. 118 *sqq.* [2] Dixon, iv. p. 462.
[3] Bull of Leo XIII., *Apostolicae Curae*, p. 21. [4] *Ib.*, p. 16.
[5] Cf. *The Answer of the Archbishops of England*, § xii. p. 21; and *Priesthood in the English Church* (No. xli. of the Church Historical Society's publications), p. 42, n. 3.
[6] **Preface to the Ordinal.**

(2) If the Papists thus charged the Ordinal with defect, the *Puritans* accused it of excess: and in answer to them the Article proceeds, **neither hath it anything that of itself is superstitious or ungodly.** Probably the complaints urged in 1563 were anticipations of such as were formulated by Cartwright, after the revision of 1571, and eventually answered by Hooker. If so, they concerned (*a*) the formula of Ordination, 'Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins thou dost forgive, etc.' This was denounced as a 'ridiculous and . . . blasphemous saying,' and it was held that 'the Bishop may as well say to the sea, when it rageth and swelleth, Peace, be quiet; as to say, "Receive, etc."'[1] The Puritans meant that there was something as profane in claiming that the Spirit can be bestowed through man as in claiming that man can work miracles. But this is to beg the question. Spiritual powers were exercised by Christ as man (Matt. ix. 6 and 8); and the words 'Receive, etc.,' were immediately preceded by words bestowing on men the very commission which He himself had received from the Father (John xx. 21). Further, unless 'Holy Spirit' (*ib.*, 22, marg.) can be ministered through human and material agencies, the whole truth of the Incarnation, the Church, and the Sacraments is done away. (*b*) A second and graver objection was directed against Episcopacy. Originally prompted by resentment at the action of the Bishops in enforcing the ceremonies, and gathering force largely in opposition to 'the lordship and civil government of Bishops,'[2] *i.e.* the coercive authority with which they were invested for the purpose, the Puritan movement broke out into a demand for 'a true ministry and regiment of the Church according to the word.'[3] Their cry was for a 'parity of ministers,' and their ideal 'the Genevan platform' of Church discipline. This alone they held to be of 'divine right,' and they rejected Episcopacy as unscriptural. This raises a large question, not really in controversy when the Article was composed. Enough that a system of the nature of Episcopacy appears at the

[1] Hooker, *E. P.*, V. lxxvii. 5.
[2] Prothero, *Statutes and Constitutional Documents*, p. 197.
[3] The First Admonition to Parliament, *ib.*, p. 199.

beginning of the Apostolic age in the Church of Jerusalem (Acts xii. 17; xv. 13-21; xxi. 18; Gal. ii. 9, 12; Acts xi. 30; vi. 6), and at its close in the Churches of Ephesus (1 Tim. i. 3; iii. 1-7; and 8-13) and Crete (Titus i. 5-9). In the Churches founded by S. Paul during the interval, organisation appears in varied stages of development (1 Thess. v. 12; Rom. xii. 6-8; *cf.* Heb. xiii. 7, 17, 24): and an itinerant ministry of Apostles and Prophets (1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. iv. 11), existed side by side with local officers called 'bishops and deacons' (Phil. i. 1). The Puritan objections to the Ordinal rested upon a double mistake. From the fact that 'bishop' and 'presbyter' are convertible terms (*cf.* Acts xx. 17 with 28; and Tit. i. 5 with 7) they argued for a 'parity of ministers,' forgetting that the question was not one of names but of things: and they took an organisation which was only in process of development as possessing the authority of an institution permanently and divinely fixed. It cannot now be denied either that Episcopacy was the goal of such development or that it was reached under the guidance of S. John, *i.e.* inferentially, of Our Lord Himself.[1]

§ 2, which contains the real point of the Article, answers an objection raised by Bonner and his party, after the accession of Elizabeth, to the statutory legality of the Ordinal. It was only a cavil. By 1 Mary st. ii. c. 2, 1553, which abolished the Prayer Book, the Ordinal had been repealed by name; but when the Prayer Book was restored by 1 Eliz. c. 2, 1559, the Ordinal was not so specified, being regarded as part of it. Bonner, to defend himself against Horne, who, as bishop of the diocese of Winchester in which he was then imprisoned, was enjoined to administer the oath of supremacy to him under 5 Eliz. c. i. § 6, refused to take it on the plea that 'Dr. Horne is no lawful bishop,' having been 'made Bishop according to the Book of King Edward, not yet authorised in Parliament.' Nothing is objected

[1] *Cf.* Lightfoot, *Dissertations on the Apostolic Age*, pp. 241 *sqq.* On modern questions relating to the Ministry, see Bright, *Some Aspects of Primitive Church Life*, c. 1: Moberly, *Ministerial Priesthood*: Sanday, *The Conception of Priesthood*.

as to the spiritual validity of Horne's consecration, but simply to his legal status as bishop. The matter was set at rest, first by the affirmation of the Article that **whosoever are consecrate or ordered according to the rites of that book . . . be . . . lawfully consecrated and ordered**, and afterwards by 8 Eliz. c. 1, 'An Act declaring the making and consecration of the Archbishops and Bishops of this realm to be good, lawful, and perfect, A.D. 1565-6.'[1]

[1] Cf. *The Elizabethan Bishops and the Civil Power* (No. xxii. of the Church Historical Society's publications).

ARTICLE XXXVII

De Civilibus Magistratibus.

(§ 1) ‡ Regia Majestas in hoc Angliae regno ac caeteris ejus dominiis summam habet potestatem, ad quam omnium statuum hujus regni, sive illi ecclesiastici sive civiles, in omnibus causis suprema gubernatio pertinet, et nulli externae jurisdictioni est subjecta, necesse debet.

Cum Regiae Majestati summam gubernationem tribuimus, quibus titulis intelligimus animos quorundam calumniatorum offendi, non damus regibus nostris aut verbi Dei aut sacramentorum administrationem, quod etiam Injunctiones ab Elizabetha Regina nostra nuper editae apertissime testantur: sed eam tantum prerogativam quam in Sacris Scripturis a Deo ipso omnibus piis principibus videmus semper fuisse attributam, hoc est, ut omnes status atque ordines fidei suae a Deo commissos, sive illi ecclesiastici sint sive civiles, in officio contineant, et contumaces ac delinquentes gladio civili coerceant. ‡

(§ 2) Romanus Pontifex nullam habet jurisdictionem in hoc regno Angliae.

(§ 3) Leges regni possunt Christianos propter capitalia et gravia crimina morte punire.

(§ 4) Christianis licet ex mandato Magistratus arma portare et justa bella administrare.

Of the Civil Magistrates.

(§ 1) The Queen's Majesty hath the chief power in this realm of England and other her dominions, unto whom the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain, and is not nor ought to be subject to any foreign jurisdiction.

Where we attribute to the Queen's Majesty the chief government, by which titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended, we give not to our princes the ministering either of God's word or of sacraments, the which thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen doth most plainly testify: but only that prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly princes in Holy Scriptures by God himself, that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers.

(§ 2) The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England.

(§ 3) The laws of the realm may punish Christian men with death for heinous and grievous offences.

(§ 4) It is lawful for Christian men at the commandment of the Magistrate to wear weapons and serve in the wars.

(i) **Source.**—Composed by the English Reformers, 1552-3, but rewritten 1563. The first paragraph originally consisted of the bald statement that 'the King of England is Supreme Head in earth, next under Christ, of the Church of England and Ireland.' In 1563 it was exchanged for (1) *an affirmation* assigning to the Crown no such Supreme Headship but **the chief power or chief government**, and (2) a *denial*, based on the Queen's Injunctions of 1559, refusing to princes any share in the spiritual functions of the clergy.

(ii) **Object.**—To assert the rights of the Crown (1) as against the Papists who rejected the Royal Supremacy, § 1, as incompatible with the Papal claims, § 2; and (2) as against the Anabaptists who, by denying to the Crown the right to punish its subjects, § 3, and to enlist them in defence of their country, § 4, would have rendered civil government impossible.

(iii) **Explanation.**—§ 1 is a guarded statement of the *Royal Supremacy*. **The Queen's Majesty hath . . . the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil.** During the Middle Ages the Crown claimed and maintained two principles of action, (1) a regulative authority over the internal affairs of the kingdom, and (2) a defensive authority used to protect the body politic against aggression from without. Thus (1) its regulative powers were used, in the interests of its subjects, to see that the Spiritualty and the Temporalty, or administrative officers of Church and State respectively, did their duty each in their own sphere and did not encroach upon the domain of each other. For example, King Edgar claimed the right of visitation. 'It appertaineth unto us,' he says, 'to enquire into the lives' of the clergy: but he was careful to exercise it through the Spiritualty, headed by Archbishop Dunstan (959-988). The Conqueror, by forbidding synods to debate or promulgate their decisions without his consent, allowed the Spiritualty legislative freedom within its own sphere as he allowed it a judicature of its own, and supported it in both with the authority of the Crown. His successors, by issuing prohibitions to stay the proceedings of Church synods and courts where they seemed

to encroach upon the rights of the subject or the sphere of the Temporalty which claimed all questions of person and property, as also by forbidding attempts of Parliament to tax the clergy, kept both Spiritualty and Temporalty to their several duties, and prevented either part of the body politic from interfering with the functions of the other. But (2) the Crown also exercised a defensive authority as champion of the Church and realm. Thus the Conqueror laid down the rule that no papal legate should be allowed to land in England unless he had been appointed at the request of the King and the Church; while both as to legates and as to appeals, his successors, though they accepted both, maintained their right to admit them only at their pleasure. Hence the Crown vindicated for itself the right to exercise *government* over all its subjects, which was at the same time a *chief*, sovereign, imperial, or supreme government as subject to no other foreign authority. This, in brief, was what was meant by the Royal Supremacy before the Reformation, an authority older than the name used to describe it. But it was quite consistent with the ascription of government in things spiritual to the Pope as Head of the Church according to the mediæval theory: and in practice, with his exercise, by connivance of or collusion with the Crown, of a large measure of jurisdiction, in appeals, episcopal appointments, and Church administration generally.

At the Reformation it was to the interest of Henry VIII. and the nation to resist the papal claims. Hence the Crown revived, and temporarily exaggerated, its old prerogatives. Not content with reviving the old constitutional theory, stated in the preamble of 24 H. VIII. c. 12, that England is an empire whose subjects are a body politic divided into Spiritualty and Temporalty, each governing itself under the Crown by its proper officers, Henry, in 1531, forced the clergy to acknowledge him 'only Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England,' and then, after embodying his new title in the Act of Supreme Head (26 H. VIII. c. 1), 1534, proceeded to exercise, in virtue of it, a Headship that was more than regulative; for, when it was put into

commission in the hands of Cromwell, 1535, the bishops found their authority, both to govern and to visit their dioceses, immediately superseded. For all this Henry never went so far as to intrude upon their spiritual functions, an intrusion which he expressly disclaimed in reply to the protestation of Tunstal in 1531. But for twenty years this Headship was attached to the Crown, and exercised by Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary in succession. Mary repudiated the title, 1554. It was not revived by Elizabeth, who, however, had restored to the Crown its 'ancient jurisdiction over the estate ecclesiastical and spiritual' by 1 Eliz. c. 1, which describes 'the Queen's Highness' as 'the only Supreme Governor of this realm . . . as well in all . . . ecclesiastical causes as temporal.' The Act certainly gave to the Crown powers of government over the Church which were directive and more than regulative: but they were (*a*) now for the first time limited by statutory definition; (*b*) entrusted, for visitatorial and corrective purposes, to an organised court of justice;[1] and (*c*) carefully safeguarded by the Injunction of 1559, repeated in the second paragraph of § 1 of this Article so as to preclude all possibility of supposing that the Crown is possessed of purely spiritual authority. **We give not to our princes the ministering either of God's word or of sacraments.**

§ 2 *repudiates the jurisdiction of the Pope.* The papal claims as they have affected England are of two kinds. (1) The popes claimed a temporal suzerainty. This was based on forgeries like the Donation of Constantine (eighth century); on fictions, as that islands belong as such to the see of the Fisherman; or on precedents, such as that afforded by John's tribute to Innocent III. in 1213. It was a claim easily disposed of. In 1076 William I. refused to do homage to Gregory VII. In 1366 Parliament repudiated the tribute promised by John. In 1399 it declared, as again in 1533, that 'the Crown of England and the rights of the same Crown have been from all past time so free, that neither chief pontiff, nor any one else outside the kingdom, has any right to interfere in the same.' But (2) the popes have

[1] The Court of High Commission, abolished 1641.

also claimed a spiritual authority, in virtue of their office as Head of the Church by Divine appointment. They have based their claim on the promise to S. Peter (Matt. xvi. 18), who certainly held a primacy among the Apostles (Matt. x. 2; Acts i. 15; ii. 14, etc.), but as certainly refrained from vindicating for himself any pre-eminence of jurisdiction (Acts xi. 1-4; Gal. ii. 11; 1 Pet. v. 1). There is no reason to think that he was Bishop of Rome; and, even if he were, there is nothing to show that the authority supposed to be his was meant for his successors in that see. Yet the Roman See was the only Apostolically founded see of the West, as well as the see of the capital of the empire. On both grounds it acquired great prestige: and when the English Church was founded, 597, the papal authority was highly esteemed in England. Authority grew into jurisdiction, moral influence into legally recognised rights. Protests from time to time were raised against the exercise of such rights by the State, but rarely by the Church of England; for in the Middle Ages it was never questioned that the Pope was the successor of S. Peter and Head of the Church by Divine appointment. In 1534 the Convocations resolved that 'the Bishop of Rome has not in Scripture any greater jurisdiction in the kingdom of England than any other foreign bishop.' The Article, in re-affirming this declaration that **the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England**, has denied his authority as Head, *jure divino*, over the whole Church: but not his primacy, *jure ecclesiastico*, nor his authority as Patriarch of the West.

§ 3 merely affirms that capital punishment, advisable or not, is lawful, *cf.* Gen. ix. 6.

§ 4, proceeding on the principle that Christianity accepted the institutions of society, *e.g.* slavery, as it found them, with a view not to revolutionise and overturn (Eph. vi. 5; Philemon), but to reform and leaven them, asserts the lawfulness of war. Cornelius was baptized without being required to give up his profession (Acts x. 47, 48), and S. Paul adopts the figure of the Christian's armour (Eph. vi. 11) without any sense of its unfitness to describe the Christian life.

ARTICLE XXXVIII

De illicita bonorum communicatione.	Of Christian men's goods which are not common.
Facultates et bona Christianorum non sunt communia quoad jus et possessionem, ut quidam Anabaptistae falso jactant; debet tamen quisque de his quae possidet, pro facultatum ratione, pauperibus eleemosynas benigne distribuere.	The riches and goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same, as certain Anabaptists do falsely boast; notwithstanding every man ought of such things as he possesseth liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability.

(i) **Source.**—Composed by the English Reformers, 1552-3, and since unchanged.

(ii) **Object.**—To condemn the Communism advocated by some Anabaptists.

(iii) **Explanation.**—The notion that Christianity inculcates Communism is derived from the two summaries of the inner life of the Christian Church at Jerusalem preserved in Acts ii. 42-47 and iv. 32-35. But the assertion that they 'had all things common' (ii. 44) will not bear this meaning. (*a*) If so, the Apostles would have been introducing a social revolution, which would have been contrary to Our Lord's precepts (Matt. xxii. 21; xxiii. 2) and example (Luke xii. 14; John xviii. 36), as well as out of harmony with their own practice, *e.g.* in regard to slavery. Everywhere Christians were warned as good citizens to respect the established institutions of society (Rom. xiii. 1-7; 1 Pet. ii. 13-17; iii. 1, 16, etc.). (*b*) No rule of surrendering private property was enforced (Acts v. 4). Communism moreover is (*c*) not only incompatible with the permanent

obligation of the eighth and tenth commandments (Rom. xiii. 9), but (*d*) with the 'need' (Acts ii. 45 and iv. 35) and the duty of almsgiving, both of which Our Lord assumes (Matt. xxvi. 11; vi. 2-4); while almsgiving was a duty recognised on a very large scale by the Christian Church (1 Cor. xvi. 2; 1 Pet. iv. 9, 10). (*e*) Further, the Christian principle about property is not that '*la propriété c'est le vol*,' but that property is a trust. We are not bound to a community of possession but we are bound to some community of use (Eph. iv. 28).

ARTICLE XXXIX

De Jurejurando.

Quemadmodum juramentum vanum et temerarium a Domino nostro Jesu Christo et Apostolo ejus Jacobo Christianis hominibus interdictum esse fatemur, ita Christianorum religionem minime prohibere censemus quin, jubente magistratu in causa fidei et caritatis jurare liceat, modo id fiat juxta Prophetae doctrinam in justitia, in judicio, et veritate.

Of a Christian man's Oath.

As we confess that vain and rash swearing is forbidden Christian men by our Lord Jesus Christ, so we judge that Christian religion doth not prohibit but that a man may swear when the magistrate requireth in a cause of faith and charity, so it be done according to the Prophet's teaching in justice, judgment, and truth.

(i) **Source.**—Composed by the English Reformers, 1552-3, and unchanged since.

(ii) **Object.**—To combat the scruples of Anabaptists against oaths.

(iii) **Explanation.**—Two passages (Matt. v. 33-7; James v. 12) have seemed to others, beside the Anabaptists, *e.g.* to some of the Fathers and the Quakers, to forbid the taking of oaths in any case. But what is there under consideration is not oaths in a court of law, but the Christian's rule of conversation. He is to speak as one perpetually living in the presence of God. 'The essence of the oath is the solemnly putting oneself *on special occasions* in the presence of God.'[1] For such oaths on solemn occasions we have not only the sanction of the Apostolic writers who saw nothing wrong in the practice (Heb. vi. 17) and used it themselves (2 Cor. i. 23), though ordinarily a Christian's word should be enough (*ib.*, i.

[1] Gore, *Sermon on the Mount*, pp. 74-8—*q.v.* on 'Oaths.'

17, 18), but the example of Our Lord Himself who, when adjured by the High Priest, did not refuse to answer (Matt. xxvi. 62-64). But there are obvious conditions attaching to oaths before a judge. 'When a Christian goes to take an oath in a court of law he should only go to profess openly that motive to truthfulness which rules all his speech':[1] and *according to the Prophet's teaching* he will swear 'in truth, in judgement, and in righteousness' (Jer. iv. 2).

[1] Gore, *loc. cit.*

THE RATIFICATION

Confirmatio Articulorum.

Hic Liber antedictorum Articulorum jam denuo approbatus est per assensum et consensum Serenissimae Reginae Elizabethae Dominae nostrae, Dei gratia Angliae, Franciae, et Hiberniae Reginae, Defensoris Fidei, etc., retinendus, et per totum regnum Angliae exequendus. Qui Articuli et lecti sunt et denuo confirmati subscriptione Domini Archiepiscopi et Episcoporum superioris domus, et totius cleri inferioris domus in Convocatione, A.D. 1571.

The Ratification.

This Book of Articles before rehearsed is again approved and allowed to be holden and executed within the realm by the assent and consent of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith, etc. Which Articles were deliberately read and confirmed again by the subscription of the hands of the Archbishop and Bishops of the upper house, and by the subscription of the whole clergy in the nether house in their Convocation, in the year of our Lord God, 1571.

HIS MAJESTY'S DECLARATION

BEING by God's Ordinance, according to Our just Title, *Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Governour of the Church, within these Our Dominions*, We hold it most agreeable to this Our Kingly Office, and Our own religious Zeal, to conserve and maintain the Church committed to Our Charge, in the Unity of true Religion, and in the Bond of Peace; and not to suffer unnecessary Disputations, Altercations, or Questions to be raised, which may nourish Faction both in the Church and Commonwealth. We have therefore, upon mature Deliberation, and with the Advice of so many of Our Bishops as might conveniently be called together, thought fit to make this Declaration following:

That the Articles of the Church of *England* (which have been allowed and authorized heretofore, and which Our Clergy generally have subscribed unto) do contain the true Doctrine of the Church of *England* agreeable to God's Word: which We do therefore ratify and confirm, requiring all Our loving Subjects to continue in the uniform Profession thereof, and prohibiting the least difference from the said Articles; which to that End We command to be new printed, and this Our Declaration to be published therewith.

That We are Supreme Governour of the Church of *England*: And that if any Difference arise about the external Policy, concerning the *Injunctions*, *Canons*, and other *Constitutions* whatsoever thereto belonging, the Clergy in their Convocation is to order and settle them, having first obtained leave under Our Broad Seal so to do: and We approving their said Ordinances and Constitutions; providing that none be made contrary to the Laws and Customs of the Land.

That out of Our Princely Care that the Churchmen may do the Work which is proper unto them, the Bishops and Clergy, from time to time in Convocation, upon their humble Desire, shall have Licence under Our Broad Seal to deliberate of, and to do all such Things, as, being made plain by them, and assented unto by Us, shall concern the settled Continuance of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England* now established; from which We will not endure any varying or departing in the least Degree.

That for the present, though some differences have been ill raised, yet We take comfort in this, that all Clergymen within Our Realm have always most willingly subscribed to the Articles established; which is an argument to Us, that they all agree in the true, usual, literal meaning of the said Articles; and that even in those curious points, in which the present differences lie, men of all sorts take the Articles of the Church of *England* to be for them; which is an argument again, that none of them intend any desertion of the Articles established.

That therefore in these both curious and unhappy differences, which have for so many hundred years, in different times and places, exercised the Church of Christ, We will, that all further curious search be laid aside, and these disputes shut up in God's promises, as they be generally set forth to us in the holy Scriptures, and the general meaning of the Articles of the Church of *England* according to them. And that no man hereafter shall either print, or preach, to draw the Article aside any way, but shall submit to it in the plain and full meaning thereof: and shall not put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the Article, but shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense.

That if any publick Reader in either of Our Universities, or any Head or Master of a College, or any other person respectively in either of them, shall affix any new sense to any Article, or shall publickly read, determine, or hold any publick Disputation, or suffer any such to be held either way, in either the Universities or Colleges respectively; or if any Divine in the Universities shall preach or print any thing either way, other than is already established in Convocation with Our Royal Assent; he, or they the Offenders, shall be liable to Our displeasure, and the Church's censure in Our Commission Ecclesiastical, as well as any other: And We will see there shall be due Execution upon them.

APPENDIX

NOTE.—(1) Blank spaces enclosed in [ ] indicate points at which new matter was afterwards inserted.
(2) Words between † † were subsequently dropped.
(3) Clauses, etc., between * * were subsequently rewritten.

1553.

VIII

Peccatum Originale.

Peccatum originis (non est ut fabulantur Pelagiani, † et hodie Anabaptistae repetunt †) in imitatione Adami situm, sed est vitium et depravatio naturæ cuiuslibet hominis ex Adamo naturaliter propagati, qua fit, ut ab originali justitia quam longissime distet, ad malum sua natura propendeat, et caro semper adversus spiritum concupiscat; unde in unoquoque nascentium, iram Dei atque damnationem meretur. Manet etiam in renatis hæc naturæ depravatio; qua fit, ut affectus carnis, græce *φρόνημα σαρκὸς* (quod alii sapientiam, alii sensum, alii affectum, alii studium [ ] vocant), legi Dei non subjiciatur. Et quanquam renatis et credentibus nulla propter Christum est condemnatio, peccati tamen in sese rationem habere concupiscentiam fatetur Apostolus.

1563.

IX

Peccatum Originale.

Peccatum originis non est (ut fabulantur Pelagiani) in imitatione Adami situm, sed est vitium et depravatio naturæ cujuslibet hominis ex Adamo naturaliter propagati, qua fit, ut ab originali justitia quam longissime distet, ad malum sua natura propendeat, et caro semper adversus spiritum concupiscat; unde in unoquoque nascentium, iram Dei atque damnationem meretur. Manet etiam in renatis hæc naturæ depravatio; qua fit, ut affectus carnis, græce *φρόνημα σαρκὸς* (quod alii sapientiam, alii sensum, alii affectum, alii studium [ ] interpretantur), legi Dei non subjiciatur. Et quanquam renatis et credentibus nulla propter Christum est condemnatio, peccati tamen in sese rationem habere concupiscentiam fatetur Apostolus.

1553.

IX

De Libero Arbitrio.

[

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Absque gratia Die, quae per Christum est, nos præveniente ut velimus, et cooperante dum volumus, ad pietatis opera facienda, quae Deo grata sint et accepta, nihil valemus.

X

† De Gratia.

Gratia Christi, seu Spiritus Sanctus qui per eundem datur, cor lapideum aufert, et dat cor carneum. Atque licet ex nolentibus quae recta sunt volentes faciat, et ex volentibus prava nolentes reddat, voluntati nihilominus violentiam nullam infert: et nemo hac de causa, cum peccaverit, seipsum excusare potest, quasi nolens aut coactus peccaverit, ut eam ob causam accusari non mereatur aut damnari.†

XI

De Hominis Justificatione.

* Justificatio ex sola fide Jesu Christi, eo sensu quo in Homilia de Justificatione explicatur, est certissima et saluberrima Christianorum doctrina.*

1563.

X

De Libero Arbitrio.

Ea est hominis post lapsum Adæ conditio, ut sese, naturalibus suis viribus et bonis operibus, ad fidem et invocationem Dei convertere ac præparare non possit. Quare absque gratia Dei, quæ per Christum est, nos præveniente, ut velimus, et cooperante dum volumus, ad pietatis opera facienda, quæ Deo grata sint et accepta, nihil valemus.

XI

De Hominis Justificatione.

Tantum propter meritum Domini ac Servatoris nostri Jesu Christi, per fidem, non propter opera et merita nostra, justi coram Deo reputamur. Quare sola fide nos justificari, doctrina est saluberrima, ac consolationis plenissima: ut in Homilia de Justificatione hominis fusius explicatur.

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XII

Opera ante Justificationem.

Opera quae fiunt ante gratiam Christi et Spiritus ejus afflatum, cum ex fide Jesu Christi non prodeant, minime Deo grata sunt, neque gratiam (ut multi vocant) de congruo merentur: imo cum non sint facta ut Deus illa fieri voluit et praecepit, peccati rationem habere non dubitamus.

XIII

Opera Supererogationis.

Opera quae Supererogationis appellant, non possunt sine arrogantia et impietate praedicari. Nam illis declarant homines non tantum se Deo reddere quae tenentur, sed plus in ejus gratiam facere quam deberent: cum aperte Christus dicat, Cum feceritis omnia quaecunque praecepta sunt vobis, dicite, Servi inutiles sumus.

XIV

Nemo praeter Christum est sine peccato.

Christus in nostrae naturae veritate, per omnia similis factus

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XII

De Bonis Operibus.

Bona opera, quæ sunt fructus fidei et justificatos sequuntur, quanquam peccata nostra expiari et divini judicii severitatem ferre non possunt, Deo tamen grata sunt et accepta in Christo, atque ex vera et viva fide necessario profluunt, ut plane ex illis æque fides viva cognosci possit atque arbor ex fructu judicari.

XIII

Opera ante Justificationem.

Opera quæ fiunt ante gratiam Christi, et spiritus ejus afflatum, cum ex fide Jesu Christi non prodeant, minime Deo grata sunt, neque gratiam (ut multi vocant) de congruo merentur: imo cum non sint facta ut Deus illa fieri voluit et præcepit, peccati rationem habere non dubitamus.

XIV

Opera Supererogationis.

Opera quæ Supererogationis appellant, non possunt sine arrogantia et impietate prædicari. Nam illis declarant homines non tantum se Deo reddere quæ tenentur, sed plus in ejus gratiam facere quam deberent: cum aperte Christus dicat, Cum feceritis omnia quæcunque præcepta sunt vobis, dicite, Servi inutiles sumus.

XV

Nemo præter Christum sine peccato.

Christus in nostræ naturæ veritate per omnia similis factus est

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est nobis, excepto peccato, a quo prorsus erat immunis, tum in carne tum in spiritu. Venit ut agnus absque macula esset, qui mundi peccata per immolationem sui semel factam tolleret: et peccatum (ut inquit Joannes) in eo non erat. Sed nos reliqui, etiam baptizati et in Christo regenerati, in multis tamen offendimus omnes: et si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est.

XV

* De peccato in Spiritum Sanctum.*

Non omne peccatum mortale post baptismum voluntarie prepetratum, est peccatum in Spiritum Sanctum et irremissibile. Proinde lapsis a baptismo in peccata, locus pœnitentiae non est negandus. Post acceptum Spiritum Sanctum possumus a gratia data recedere atque peccare, denuoque per gratiam Dei resurgere ac resipiscere. Ideoque illi damnandi sunt, qui se quamdiu hic vivant, amplius non posse peccare affirmant, aut vere resipiscentibus poenitentiae locum denegant.

XVI

† Blasphemia in Spiritum Sanctum.

Blasphemia in Spiritum Sanctum, est cum quis verborum Dei manifeste perceptam veritatem, ex malitia et obfirmatione animi, convitiis insectatur, et hostiliter insequitur. Atque

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nobis, excepto peccato, a quo prorsus erat immunis, tum in carne tum in spiritu. Venit, ut agnus absque macula esset, qui mundi peccata per immolationem sui semel factam tolleret: et peccatum (ut inquit Joannes) in eo non erat. Sed nos reliqui, etiam baptizati et in Christo regenerati, in multis tamen offendimus omnes: et si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est.

XVI

De Lapsis post Baptismum.

Non omne peccatum mortale post baptismum voluntarie perpetratum, est peccatum in Spiritum Sanctum et irremissibile. Proinde lapsis a baptismo in peccata, locus pœnitentiæ non est negandus. Post acceptum Spiritum Sanctum, possumus a gratia data recedere atque peccare, denuoque per gratiam Dei resurgere ac resipiscere. Ideoque illi damnandi sunt, qui se quamdiu hic vivant, amplius non posse peccare affirmant, aut vere resipiscentibus pœnitentiæ locum denegant.

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hujusmodi, quia maledicto sunt obnoxii, gravissimo sese astringunt sceleri: unde peccati hoc genus irremissibile a Domino appellatur, et affirmatur.†

XVII

De Praedestinatione et Electione.

Praedestinatio ad vitam est aeternum Dei propositum, quo ante jacta mundi fundamenta suo consilio, nobis quidem occulto, constanter decrevit eos quos [ ] elegit ex hominum genere, a maledicto et exitio liberare, atque ut vasa in honorem efficta, per Christum ad aeternam salutem adducere. Unde qui tam praeclaro Dei beneficio sunt donati, illi, Spiritu ejus opportuno tempore operante, secundum propositum ejus vocantur; vocationi per gratiam parent; justificantur gratis; adoptantur in filios; unigeniti Jesu Christi imagini efficiuntur conformes; in bonis operibus sancte ambulant; et demum ex Dei misericordia pertingunt ad sempiternam felicitatem.

Quemadmodum Praedestinationis et Electionis nostrae in Christo pia consideratio, dulcis, suavis, et ineffabilis consolationis plena est vere piis et his qui sentiunt in se vim Spiritus Christi, facta carnis et membra quae adhuc sunt super terram mortificantem, animumque ad coelestia et superna rapientem, tum quia fidem nostram de aeterna salute consequenda per Christum plurimum stabilit atque confirmat, tum quia amorem nostrum in Deum

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XVII

De Prædestinatione et Electione.

Prædestinatio ad vitam, est æternum Dei propositum, quo ante jacta mundi fundamenta, suo consilio, nobis quidem occulto, constanter decrevit, eos quos in Christo elegit ex hominum genere, a maledicto et exitio liberare, atque ut vasa in honorem efficta, per Christum ad æternam salutem adducere. Unde qui tam præclaro Dei beneficio sunt donati, illi, Spiritu eius opportuno tempore operante, secundum propositum eius vocantur; vocationi per gratiam parent; justificantur gratis; adoptantur in filios; unigeniti Jesu Christi imagini efficiuntur conformes; in bonis operibus sancte ambulant; et demum ex Dei misericordia pertingunt ad sempiternam felicitatem.

Quemadmodum Prædestinationis et Electionis nostræ in Christo pia consideratio, dulcis, suavis, et ineffabilis consolationis plena est vere piis et his qui sentiunt in se vim Spiritus Christi, facta carnis et membra quæ adhuc sunt super terram mortificantem, animumque ad cœlestia et superna rapientem, tum quia fidem nostram de æterna salute consequenda per Christum plurimum stabilit atque confirmat, tum quia amorem nostrum in Deum vehementer

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vehementer accendit: ita hominibus curiosis, carnalibus, et Spiritu Christi destitutis, ob oculos perpetuo versari Praedestinationis Dei sententiam, perniciosissimum est praecipitium, unde illos diabolus pertrudit vel in desperationem vel in aeque perniciosam impurissimae vitae securitatem.

Deinde † licet Praedestinationis decreta sunt nobis ignota†, promissiones † tamen † divinas sic amplecti opertet, ut nobis in sacris literis generaliter propositae sunt; et Dei voluntas in nostris actionibus ea sequenda est, quam in verbo Dei habemus diserte revelatum.

XVIII

Tantum in nomine Christi speranda est aeterna salus.

Sunt et illi anathematizandi qui dicere audent, unumquemque in lege aut secta quam profitetur esse servandum, modo juxta illam et lumen naturae accurate vixerit: cum sacrae literae tantum Jesu Christi nomen praedicent, in quo salvos fieri homines oporteat.

XIX

† Omnes obligantur ad moralia Legis proecepta servanda.

Lex a Deo data per Mosen, licet quoad caeremonias et ritus Christianos non astringat, neque civilia ejus praecepta in aliqua republica necessario recipi debeant; nihilominus ab obedientia mandatorum quae moralia vocantur nullus quantumvis Christianus est solutus. Quare illi non sunt audiendi, qui sacras

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accendit: ita hominibus curiosis, carnalibus, et Spiritu Christi destitutis, ob oculos perpetuo versari Prædestinationis Dei sententiam, perniciosissimum est præcipitium, unde illos diabolus protrudit, vel in desperationem vel in æque perniciosam impurissimæ vitæ securitatem.

Deinde promissiones divinas sic amplecti oportet, ut nobis in sacris literis generaliter propositæ sunt; et Dei voluntas in nostris actionibus ea sequenda est, quam in verbo Dei habemus diserte revelatam.

XVIII

Tantum in nomine Christi speranda est æterna salus.

Sunt illi anathematizandi qui dicere audent, unumquemque in lege aut secta quam profitetur esse servandum, modo juxta illam et lumen naturæ accurate vixerit: cum sacræ literæ tantum Jesu Christi nomen prædicent, in quo salvos fieri homines oporteat.

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literas tantum infirmis datas esse perhibent, et Spiritum perpetuo jactant, a quo sibi quae praedicant suggeri asserunt, quanquam cum sacris literis apertissime pugnent.†

XX

De Ecclesia.

Ecclesia Christi visibilis est coetus fidelium, in quo verbum Dei purum praedicatur et sacramenta, quoad ea quae necessario exiguntur, juxta Christi institutum recte administrantur. Sicut erravit Ecclesia Hierosolymitana, Alexandrina, et Antiochena, ita et erravit Ecclesia Romana, non solum quoad agenda et caeremoniarum ritus, verum in his etiam quae credenda sunt.

XXI

De Ecclesiae auctoritate.

[ ] Ecclesiae non licet quicquam instituere, quod verbo Dei scripto adversetur, neque unum Scripturae locum sic exponere potest, ut alteri contradicat. Quare licet Ecclesia sit divinorum librorum testis et conservatrix, attamen, ut adversus eos nihil decernere, ita praeter illos nihil credendum de necessitate salutis debet obtrudere.

XXII

De auctoritate Conciliorum Generalium.

Generalia Concilia sine jussu et voluntate principum congre-

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XIX

De Ecclesia.

Ecclesia Christi visibilis est cœtus fidelium, in quo verbum Dei purum prædicatur et sacramenta, quoad ea quæ necessario exiguntur, juxta Christi institutum recte administrantur. Sicut erravit Ecclesia Hierosolymitana, Alexandrina, et Antiochena, ita et erravit Ecclesia Romana, non solum quoad agenda et cæremoniarum ritus, verum in his etiam quæ credenda sunt.

XX

De Ecclesiæ auctoritate.

Habet Ecclesia ritus statuendi jus, et in fidei controversiis auctoritatem, quamvis Ecclesiæ non licet quicquam instituere, quod verbo Dei scripto adversetur, nec unum Scripturæ locum sic exponere potest, ut alteri contradicat. Quare licet Ecclesia sit divinorum librorum testis et conservatrix, attamen, ut adversus eos nihil decernere, ita præter illos nihil credendum de necessitate salutis debet obtrudere.

XXI

De auctoritate Conciliorum Generalium.

Generalia Concilia sine jussu et voluntate principum congregari

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gari non possunt; et ubi convenerint, quia ex hominibus constant qui non omnes Spiritu et verbis Dei reguntur, et errare possunt et interdum errarunt, etiam in his quae ad normam pietatis pertinent. Ideo quae ab illis constituuntur, ut ad salutem necessaria, neque robur habent neque auctoritatem, nisi ostendi possunt e sacris literis esse desumpta.

XXIII

De Purgatorio.

Scholasticorum doctrina de Purgatorio, de Indulgentiis, de veneratione et adoratione tum Imaginum tum Reliquiarum, nec non de Invocatione Sanctorum, res est futilis, inaniter conficta, et nullis Scripturarum testimoniis innititur, imo verbo Dei perniciose contradicit.

XXIV

Nemo in Ecclesia ministret nisi vocatus.

Non licet cuiquam sumere sibi munus publice praedicandi aut administrandi sacramenta in Ecclesia, nisi prius fuerit ad haec obeunda legitime vocatus et missus. Atque illos legitime vocatos et missos existimare debemus, qui per homines, quibus potestas vocandi ministros atque mittendi in vineam Domini publice concessa est in Ecclesia, cooptati fuerint et asciti in hoc opus.

XXV

Agendum est in Ecclesia lingua quae sit populo nota.

*Decentissimum est et verbo Dei maxime congruit, ut nihil

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non possunt; et ubi convenerint, quia ex hominibus constant, qui non omnes Spiritu et verbis Dei reguntur, et errare possunt, et interdum errarunt, etiam in his quæ ad normam pietatis pertinent. Ideo quæ ab illis constituuntur, ut ad salutem necessaria, neque robur habent, neque auctoritatem, nisi ostendi possint e sacris literis esse desumpta.

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XXIV

Agendum est in Ecclesia lingua quæ sit populo nota.

Lingua populo non intellecta publicas in Ecclesia preces pera-

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in Ecclesia publice legatur aut recitetur lingua populo ignota, idque Paulus fieri vetuit, nisi adesset qui interpretaretur.*

XXVI

De Sacramentis.

† Dominus noster Jesus Christus sacramentis numero paucissimis, observatu facillimis, significatione praestantissimis, societatem novi populi colligavit, sicuti est Baptismus et Coena Domini.†

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Sacramenta non instituta sunt a Christo ut spectarentur aut circumferrentur, sed ut rite illis uteremur: et in his duntaxat qui digne percipiunt, salutarem habent effectum, † idque non ex opere (ut quidam loquuntur) operato, quae vox ut peregrina est et sacris literis ignota, sic parit sensum minime pium, sed admodum superstitiosum †, qui vero indigne percipiunt damnationem (ut inquit Paulus) sibi ipsis acquirunt.

Sacramenta per verbum Dei instituta, non tantum sunt notae professionis Christianorum, sed certa quaedam potius testimonia et efficacia signa gratiae atque bonae in nos voluntatis Dei, per quae invisibiliter ipse in nobis operatur, nostramque fidem in se non solum excitat, verum etiam confirmat.

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gere, aut sacramenta administrare, verbo Dei et primitivæ Ecclesiæ consuetudini plane repugnat.

XXV

De Sacramentis.

Sacramenta a Christo instituta, non tantum sunt notæ professionis Christianorum, sed certa quædam potius testimonia, et efficacia signa gratiæ atque bonæ in nos voluntatis Dei, per quæ invisibiliter ipse in nobis operatur, nostramque fidem in se, non solum excitat, verum etiam confirmat.

Duo a Christo Domino nostro in Evangelio instituta sunt Sacramenta, scilicet Baptismus et Cœna Domini.

Quinque illa vulgo nominata Sacramenta, scilicet, Confirmatio, Pœnitentia, Ordo, Matrimonium, et Extrema Unctio, pro Sacramentis Evangelicis habenda non sunt, ut quæ partim a prava Apostolorum imitatione profluxerunt, partim vitæ status sunt in Scripturis quidem probati, sed Sacramentorum eandem cum Baptismo et Cœna Domini rationem non habentes: quomodo nec Pœnitentia, ut quæ signum aliquod visibile seu cæremoniam a Deo institutam non habeat.

Sacramenta non in hoc instituta sunt a Christo, ut spectarentur, aut circumferrentur, sed ut rite illis uteremur: et in his duntaxat qui digne percipiunt, salutarem habent effectum: qui vero indigne percipiunt, damnationem (ut inquit Paulus) sibi ipsis acquirunt.

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XXVII

Ministrorum malitia non tollit efficaciam institutionum divinarum.

Quamvis in Ecclesia visibili, bonis mali sint semper admixti, atque interdum ministerio verbi et sacramentorum administrationi praesint, tamen cum non suo sed Christi nomine agant, ejusque mandato et auctoritate ministrent, illorum ministerio uti licet, cum in verbo Dei audiendo, tum in sacramentis percipiendis. Neque per illorum malitiam effectus institutorum Christi tollitur, aut gratia donorum Dei minuitur quoad eos, qui fide et rite sibi oblata percipiunt, quae propter institutionem Christi et promissionem efficacia sunt, licet per malos administrentur. Ad Ecclesia tamen disciplinam pertinet, ut in eos inquiratur, accusenturque ab iis, qui eorum flagitia noverint, atque tandem, justo convicti judicio, deponantur.

XXVIII

De Baptismo.

Baptismus non est tantum signum professionis ac discriminis nota, qua Christiani a non Christianis discernuntur, sed etiam est signum regenerationis, per quod tanquam per instrumentum recte Baptismum suscipientes, Ecclesiae inseruntur, promissiones de remissione peccatorum atque adoptione nostra in filios Dei per Spiritum Sanctum visibiliter obsignantur, fides confirmatur, et vi divinae invocationis, gratia augetur.

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XXVI

Ministrorum malitia non tollit efficaciam institutionum divinarum.

Qvamvis in Ecclesia visibili bonis mali semper sint admixti, atque interdum ministerio verbi et sacramentorum administrationi præsint, tamen cum non suo sed Christi nomine agant, ejusque mandato et auctoritate ministrent, illorum ministerio uti licet, cum in verbo Dei audiendo, tum in sacramentis percipiendis. Neque per illorum malitiam effectus institutorum Christi tollitur, aut gratia donorum Dei minuitur, quoad eos qui fide et rite sibi oblata percipiunt, quæ propter institutionem Christi et promissionem efficacia sunt, licet per malos administrentur. Ad Ecclesiæ tamen disciplinam pertinet, ut in malos ministros inquiratur, accusenturque ab his, qui eorum flagitia noverint, atque tandem, justo convicti judicio, deponantur.

XXVII

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* Mos Ecclesiae baptizandi parvulos et laudandus est, et omnino in Ecclesia retinendus.*

XXIX

De Coena Domini.

Coena Domini non est tantum signum mutuae benevolentiae Christianorum inter sese, verum potius est sacramentum nostrae per mortem Christi redemptionis: atque adeo rite, digne et cum fide sumentibus, panis quem frangimus est communicatio corporis Christi; similiter poculum benedictionis est communicatio sangûinis Christi.

Panis et vini transubstantiatio in Eucharistia, ex sacris literis probari non potest, sed apertis Scripturae verbis adversatur [ ] et multarum superstitionem dedit occasionem.

† Quum naturae humanae veritas requirat, ut unius ejusdemque hominis corpus in multis locis simul esse non posset, sed in uno aliquo et definito loco esse oporteat, idcirco Christi corpus in multis et diversis locis eodem tempore praesens esse non potest. Et quoniam, ut tradunt sacrae literae, Christus in coelum fuit sublatus, et ibi usque ad finem sacculi est permansurus, non debet quisquam fidelium carnis ejus et sanguinis realem et corporalem (ut loquuntur) praesentiam in Eucharistia vel credere vel profiteri.†

Sacramentum Eucharistiae ex institutione Christi non servabatur, circumferebatur, elevabatur, nec adorabatur.

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Baptismus parvulorum omnino in ecclesia retinendus est, ut qui cum Christi institutione optime congruat.

XXVIII

De Cœna Domini.

Cœna Domini non est tantum signum mutuæ benevolentiæ Christianorum inter sese, verum potius est sacramentum nostræ per mortem Christi redemptionis: atque adeo rite, digne et cum fide sumentibus, panis quem frangimus est communicatio corporis Christi; similiter poculum benedictionis est communicatio sanguinis Christi.

Panis et vini transubstantiatio in Eucharistia, ex sacris literis probari non potest, sed apertis Scripturæ verbis adversatur, sacramenti naturam evertit, et multarum superstitionum dedit occasionem.

Corpus Christi datur, accipitur, et manducatur in Cœna, tantum cœlesti et spirituali ratione. Medium autem quo corpus Christi accipitur, et manducatur in Cœna, fides est.

Sacramentum Eucharistiæ ex institutione Christi non servabatur, circumferebatur, elevabatur, nec adorabatur.

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XXX

De unica Christi oblatione in Cruce perfecta.

Oblatio Christi semel facta, perfecta est redemptio, propitiatio, et satisfactio pro omnibus peccatis totius mundi, tam originalibus quam actualibus; neque praeter illam unicam est ulla alia pro peccatis expiatio. Unde missarum sacrificia, quibus vulgo dicebatur sacerdotem offerre Christum in remissionem poenae aut culpae pro vivis et defunctis, [ ] figmenta sunt et perniciosae imposturae.

XXXI

* Coelibatus ex verbo Dei praecipitur nemini.

Episcopis, Presbyteris et Diaconis non est mandatum ut coelibatum voveant; neque jure divino coguntur matrimonio abstinere.*

XXXII

Excommunicati vitandi sunt.

Qui per publicam Ecclesiae denuntiationem rite ab unitate Ecclesiae praecisus est et excommunicatus, is ab universa

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XXIX

De Utraque Specie.

Calix Domini laicis non est denegandus: utraque enim pars Dominici sacramenti ex Christi institutione et præcepto, omnibus Christianis ex æquo administrari debet.

XXX

De unica Christi oblatione in Cruce perfecta.

Oblatio Christi semel facta, perfecta est redemptio, propitiatio, et satisfactio pro omnibus peccatis totius mundi, tam originalibus quam actualibus; neque præter illam unicam est ulla alia pro peccatis expiatio. Unde missarum sacrificia, quibus vulgo dicebatur sacerdotem offerre Christum in remissionem pœnæ aut culpæ pro vivis et defunctis, blasphema figmenta sunt et perniciosæ imposturæ.

XXXI

De Coniugio Sacerdotum.

Episcopis, Presbyteris et Diaconis, nullo mandato divino præceptum est, ut aut cœlibatum voveant, aut a matrimonio abstineant. Licet igitur etiam illis, ut cæteris omnibus Christianis, ubi hoc ad pietatem magis facere judicaverint, pro suo arbitratu matrimonium contrahere.

XXXII

Excommunicati uitandi sunt.

Qui per publicam Ecclesiæ denuntiationem rite ab unitate Ecclesiæ præcisus est et excommunicatus, is ab universa fidelium

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fidelium multitudine, donec per poenitentiam publice reconciliatus fuerit arbitrio judicis competentis, habendus est tanquam ethnicus et publicanus.

XXXIII

Traditiones Ecclesiasticae.

Traditiones atque caeremonias easdem non omnino necessarium est esse ubique aut prorsus consimiles; nam et variae semper fuerunt et mutari possunt pro regionum [ ] et morum diversitate, modo nihil contra Dei verbum instituatur.

Traditiones et caeremonias ecclesiasticas, quae cum verbo Dei non pugnant, et sunt auctoritate publica institutae atque probatae, quisquis privato consilio volens et data opera publice violaverit, is, ut qui peccat in publicum ordinem Ecclesiae, quique laedit auctoritatem Magistratus, et qui infirmorum fratrum conscientias vulnerat, publice, ut caeteri timeant, arguendus est.

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XXXIV

* Homiliae.

Homiliae nuper Ecclesiae Anglicanae per injunctiones Regias traditae atque commendatae, piae sunt atque salutares, doctrinamque ab omnibus amplectendam continent; quare, populo diligenter, expedite clareque recitandae sunt.*

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multitudine, donec per pœnitentiam publice reconciliatus fuerit, arbitrio judicis competentis, habendus est tanquam ethnicus et publicanus.

XXXIII

Traditiones Ecclesiasticæ.

Traditiones atque cæremonias eásdem, non omnino necessarium est esse ubique aut prorsus consimiles; nam et variæ semper fuerunt, et mutari possunt, pro regionum, temporum, et morum diversitate, modo nihil contra verbum Dei instituatur.

Traditiones et cæremonias ecclesiasticas, quæ cum verbo Dei non pugnant, et sunt auctoritate publica institutæ atque probatæ, quisquis privato consilio volens et data opera publice violaverit, is, ut qui peccat in publicum ordinem Ecclesiæ, quique lædit auctoritatem Magistratus, et qui infirmorum fratrum conscientias vulnerat, publice, ut cæteri timeant, arguendus est.

Quælibet Ecclesia particularis, sive nationalis, auctoritatem habet instituendi, mutandi, aut abrogandi cæremonias aut ritus ecclesiasticos, humana tantum auctoritate institutos, modo omnia ad ædificationem fiant.

XXXIV

Tomus secundus Homiliarum, quarum singulos titulos huic Articulo subjunximus, continet piam et salutarem doctrinam, et his temporibus necessariam, non minus quam prior Tomus Homiliarum quæ editæ sunt tempore Edwardi sexti. Itaque eas in ecclesiis per ministros diligenter et clare, ut a populo intelligi possint, recitandas esse judicamus.

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Catalogus Homiliarum.

De recto Ecclesiæ usu.
Adversus idolatriæ pericula.
De reparandis ac purgandis Ecclesiis.
De bonis operibus.
De jejunio.
In gulæ atque ebrietatis vitia.
In nimis sumptuosos vestium apparatus.
De oratione sive precatione.
De loco et tempore orationi destinatis.
De publicis precibus ac sacramentis, idiomate vulgari omnibusque noto, habendis.
De sacrosancta verbi divini auctoritate.
De eleemosyna.
De Christi nativitate.
De Dominica passione.
De resurrectione Domini.
De digna corporis et sanguinis Dominici in cœna Domini participatione.
De donis Spiritus Sancti.
In diebus, qui vulgo Rogationum dicti sunt, concio.
De matrimonii statu.
De otio seu socordia.
De pœnitentia.

XXXV

*De Libro Precationum et Caeremoniarum Ecclesiae Anglicanae.

Liber qui nuperrime auctoritate Regis et Parliamenti Ecclesiae Anglicanae traditus est, continens modum et formam orandi et sacramenta administrandi in Ecclesia Anglicana, similiter et libellus eadem auctoritate editus de ordinatione ministrorum Ecclesiae, quoad

XXXV

Libellus de Consecratione Archiepiscoporum et Episcoporum et de ordinatione Presbyterorum et Diaconorum editus nuper temporibus Edwardi sexti, et auctoritate Parliamenti illis ipsis temporibus confirmatus, omnia ad ejusmodi consecrationem et ordinationem neces-

1553.

doctrinae veritatem pii sunt et salutari doctrinae Evangelii in nullo repugnant sed congruunt, et eandem non parum promovent et illustrant; atque ideo ab omnibus Ecclesiae Anglicanae fidelibus membris, et maxime a ministris verbi, cum omni promptitudine animorum et gratiarum actione recipiendi, approbandi, et populo Dei commendendi sunt.*

XXXVI

De Civilibus Magistratibus.

† Rex Angliae est Supremum Caput in terris, post Christum, Ecclesiae Anglicanae et Hibernicae.†

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Romanus Pontifex nullam

1563.

saria continent, et nihil habet quod ex se sit aut superstitiosum aut impium. Itaque quicunque juxta ritus illius libri consecrati aut ordinati sunt ab anno secundo prædicti Regis Edwardi, usque ad hoc tempus, aut in posterum juxta eosdem ritus consecrabuntur aut ordinabuntur rite, ordine, atque legitime, statuimus esse et fore consecratos et ordinatos.

XXXVI

De Civilibus Magistratibus.

Regia Majestas in hoc Angliæ regno ac cæteris ejus Dominiis, jure summam habet potestatem, ad quam omnium statuum hujus regni sive illi ecclesiastici sunt sive non, in omnibus causis suprema gubernatio pertinet, et nulli externæ jurisdictioni est subjecta, nec esse debet.

Cum Regiæ Majestati summam gubernationem tribuimus, quibus titulis intelligimus animos quorundam calumniatorum offendi, non damus regibus nostris aut verbi Dei aut sacramentorum administrationem, quod etiam Injunctiones ab Elizabetha Regina nostra nuper editæ, apertissime testantur: sed eam tantum prærogativam, quam in Sacris Scripturis a Deo ipso omnibus piis principibus, videmus semper fuisse attributam, hoc est, ut omnes status atque ordines fidei suæ a Deo commissos, sive illi ecclesiastici sint sive civiles, in officio contineant, et contumaces ac delinquentes, gladio civili coërceant.

Romanus Pontifex nullam ha-

1553.

habet jurisdictionem in hoc regno Angliae. †Magistratus civilis est a Deo ordinatus atque probatus, quamobrem illi non solum propter iram, sed etiam propter conscientiam, obediendum est.†

Leges civiles possunt Christianos propter capitalia et gravia crimina morte punire.

Christianis licet ex mandato Magistratus arma portare et justa bella administrare.

XXXVII

Christianorum bona non sunt communia.

Facultates et bona Christianorum non sunt communia, quoad jus et possessionem, ut quidam Anabaptistae falso jactant; debet tamen quisque de his quae possidet, pro facultatum ratione, pauperibus eleemosynas benigne distribuere.

XXXVIII

Licet Christianis jurare.

Quemadmodum juramentum vanum et temerarium a Domino nostro Jesu Christo et ab Apostolo ejus Jacobo Christianis hominibus interdictum esse fatemur, ita Christianam religionem minime prohibere censemus, quin, jubente Magistratu, in causa fidei et charitatis jurare liceat, modo id fiat juxta Prophetae doctrinam in justitia, in judicio, et veritate.

XXXIX

† Resurrectio mortuorum nondum est facta.

Resurrectio mortuorum non adhuc facta est, quasi tantum

1563.

bet jurisdictionem in hoc regno Angliæ.

Leges civiles possunt Christianos propter capitalia et gravia crimina morte punire.

Christianis licet ex mandato Magistratus arma portare et justa bella administrare.

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1553. 1563.

ad animum pertineat qui per Christi gratiam a morte peccatorum excitetur, sed extremo die quoad omnes qui obierunt expectanda est; tunc enim vita defunctis (ut Scripturae manifestissime testantur) propria corpora carnes et ossa restituentur ut homo integer, prout vel recte vel perdite vixerit, juxta sua opera sive praemia sive pœnas reportet.†

XL

†Defunctorum animae neque cum corporibus intereunt, neque otiose dormiunt.

Qui animas defunctorum praedicant usque ad diem judicii absque omni sensu dormire, aut illas asserunt una cum corporibus mori et extrema die cum illis excitandas, ab orthodoxa fide quae nobis in sacris literis traditur prorsus dissentiunt.†

XLI

†Millenarii.

Qui Millenariorum fabulam revocare conantur sacris literis adversantur et in Judaica deliramenta sese praecipitant.†

XLII

†Non omnes tandem servandi sunt.

Hi quoque damnatione digni sunt qui conantur hodie perniciosam opinonem instaurare quod omnes, quantumvis impii, servandi sunt tandem, cum definito tempore a justitia divina pœnas de admissis flagitiis luerunt.†

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